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University History Series

Albert H. Bowker

SIXTH CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, 1971-1980;
STATISTICIAN, AND NATIONAL LEADER IN THE
POLICIES AND POLITICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

With an Introduction by
Joseph L. Hodges

Interviews Conducted by
Harriet Nathan
in 1991

Since 1954 the Regional Oral History Office has been interviewing leading participants in or well-placed witnesses to major events in the development of Northern California, the West, and the Nation. Oral history is a modern research technique involving an interviewee and an informed interviewer in spontaneous conversation. The taped record is transcribed, lightly edited for continuity and clarity, and reviewed by the interviewee. The resulting manuscript is typed in final form, indexed, bound with photographs and illustrative materials, and placed in The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and other research collections for scholarly use. Because it is primary material, oral history is not intended to present the final, verified, or complete narrative of events. It is a spoken account, offered by the interviewee in response to questioning, and as such it is reflective, partisan, deeply involved, and irreplaceable.

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Family background; education at M.I.T., and Ph.D. from Columbia University, 1949; Stanford University: professor of mathematics and statistics 1947-1963, Dean, Graduate Division 1959-1963, and development of statistics department and laboratory, and government-industry relations; Chancellor, City University of New York, 1963-1971: establishment of new colleges, graduate center, handling race relations, open admissions, city and state politics; UC Berkeley Chancellor 1971-1980: Master Plan; report, Berkeley in a steady state; academic quality and fiscal stringencies; Bakke case, and issues of access and discrimination; intercollegiate athletics; ROTC; craftworkers' strike; government regulations; moving fund-raising to Chancellor's Office; role of professional schools, faculty union; ventures in health and medical science; eliminating departments; Strawberry Creek College; Experimental College Program; relations with alumni, other East Bay colleges and universities, faculty, students, University constituents, Regents, City of Berkeley; other Berkeley reminiscences; University of Maryland 1981-1986, and government posts.

Introduction by Joseph L. Hodges, Emeritus Professor of Statistics.

Interviewed 1991 by Harriet Nathan for the University History Series.
Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

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PREFACE

When President Robert Gordon Sproul proposed that the Regents of the University of California establish a Regional Oral History Office, he was eager to have the office document both the University's history and its impact on the state. The Regents established the office in 1954, "to tape record the memoirs of persons who have contributed significantly to the history of California and the West," thus embracing President Sproul's vision and expanding its scope.

Administratively, the new program at Berkeley was placed within the library, but the budget line was direct to the Office of the President. An Academic Senate committee served as executive. In the four decades that have followed, the program has grown in scope and personnel, and the office has taken its place as a division of The Bancroft Library, the University's manuscript and rare books library. The essential purpose of the Regional Oral History Office, however, remains the same: to document the movers and shakers of California and the West, and to give special attention to those who have strong and continuing links to the University of California.

The Regional Oral History Office at Berkeley is the oldest oral history program within the University system, and the University History Series is the Regional Oral History Office's longest established and most diverse series of memoirs. This series documents the institutional history of the University, through memoirs with leading professors and administrators. At the same time, by tracing the contributions of graduates, faculty members, officers, and staff to a broad array of economic, social, and political institutions, it provides a record of the impact of the University on the wider community of state and nation.

The oral history approach captures the flavor of incidents, events, and personalities and provides details that formal records cannot reach. For faculty, staff, and alumni, these memoirs serve as reminders of the work of predecessors and foster a sense of responsibility toward those who will join the University in years to come. Thus, they bind together University participants from many of eras and specialties, reminding them of interests in common. For those who are interviewed, the memoirs present a chance to express perceptions about the University, its role and lasting influences, and to offer their own legacy of memories to the University itself.

The University History Series over the years has enjoyed financial support from a variety of sources. These include alumni groups and individuals, campus departments, administrative units, and special groups as well as grants and private gifts. For instance, the Women's Faculty Club supported a series on the club and its members in order to preserve insights into the role of women on campus. The Alumni Association supported a number of interviews, including those with Ida Sproul, wife of the President, and athletic coaches Clint Evans and Brutus Hamilton.

Their own academic units, often supplemented with contributions from colleagues, have contributed for memoirs with Dean Ewald T. Grether, Business Administration; Professor Garff Wilson, Public Ceremonies; Deans Morrough P. O'Brien and John Whinnery, Engineering; and Dean Milton Stern, UC Extension. The Office of the Berkeley Chancellor has supported oral history memoirs with Chancellors Edward W. Strong and Albert H. Bowker.

To illustrate the University/community connection, many memoirs of important University figures have in turn inspired, enriched, or grown out of broader series documenting a variety of significant California issues. For example, the Water Resources Center-sponsored interviews of Professors Percy H. McGaughey, Sidney T. Harding, and Wilfred Langelier have led to an ongoing series of oral histories on California water issues. The California Wine Industry Series originated with an interview of University enologist William V. Cruess and now has grown to a fifty-nine-interview series of California's premier winemakers. California Democratic Committeewoman Elinor Heller was interviewed in a series on California Women Political Leaders, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities; her oral history was expanded to include an extensive discussion of her years as a Regent of the University through interviews funded by her family's gift to The Bancroft Library.

To further the documentation of the University's impact on state and nation, Berkeley's Class of 1931, as their class gift on the occasion of their fiftieth anniversary, endowed an oral history series titled "The University of California, Source of Community Leaders." The series reflects President Sproul's vision by recording the contributions of the University's alumni, faculty members and administrators. The first oral history focused on President Sproul himself. Interviews with thirty-four key individuals dealt with his career from student years in the early 1900s through his term as the University's eleventh President, from 1930-1958.

Gifts such as these allow the Regional Oral History Office to continue to document the life of the University and its link with its community. Through these oral history interviews, the University keeps its own history alive, along with the flavor of irreplaceable personal memories, experiences, and perceptions. A full list of completed memoirs and those in process in the series is included following the index of this volume.

September 1994
Regional Oral History Office
University of California
Berkeley, California

Harriet Nathan, Series Director
University History Series

Willa K. Baum, Division Head
Regional Oral History Office

INTRODUCTION--by Joseph L. Hodges, Jr.

It was a pleasure to be asked to write an introduction to Al Bowker's oral history. I suppose I owe this invitation to being perhaps the only statistician who has been active in the U.C. administration and who has known Al fairly well for nearly half a century. I give here some recollections that are tangential to his.

Let me explain how our early acquaintance arose. By the 1930's, mathematics at Berkeley, once reasonably good, had become mediocre. As I have heard the story, leading scientists called on President Sproul to complain. He appointed a committee chaired by Joel Hildebrand of chemistry to find the right chairman from outside to revive the department. They came up with Griffith Evans from Rice. (Note that all three persons have been edified [each has an edifice, a building named after him].)

As Al says, Evans took a much broader view of mathematics than was customary in academia. For example, he brought in two Europeans, Alfred Tarski and Jerzy Neyman, to develop programs in logic and statistics, respectively. When I started my graduate work in 1942, I was attracted to Tarski--indeed one of my first publications arose out of a question he posed in a lecture. But because of the war, I soon found myself working in a group Neyman had started to deal with statistical problems for the military--for example, to find the pattern of bombing most likely to take out a bridge.

At the same time, Al was working in a similar, but much larger group at Columbia. This experience brought him to statistics, as did mine. Neyman who was perhaps the world's leading theoretical statistician aside from R. A. Fisher, had come to Berkeley in 1938 and at once set up a substantial instructional program in his field. I remember taking a quite advanced course around 1940. Those of us at Berkeley thought that by the mid 1940's Berkeley had the strongest program in theoretical statistics in the United States, though no doubt others would challenge this view.

My work with Neyman's group led to my going to Guam along with Erich Lehmann to be an "operations analyst" with LeMay's Twentieth Air Force. I recall being asked to find out what was bringing down our bombers that failed to return from raids on Japan. We solved this problem, but I have unfortunately forgotten the solution. Not unnaturally, because of such efforts, I began to find statistics more interesting (and easier?) than logic, and on returning to Berkeley in 1945, I decided to write a thesis with Neyman.

Not long after this, Stanford began to develop a statistical group. The two groups began a joint seminar meeting about every three weeks home-and-home. One of the out-of-towners would present his latest

research to challenging questioners, then we would go to someone's home for cocktails and then to a restaurant for dinner. The groups were small and we soon were well acquainted.

In particular, I got to know and like Al--I guess this was about 1947. Al was chairman of the Stanford group and in charge of building it. I can still remember how startled I was to learn that he was at the same time a graduate student at Columbia. This remarkable double persona--statistician and administrator--continued all his career. Al was a very good statistician, especially strong in applied work. When he came to Berkeley as chancellor, the Statistics Department moved at once to add him to our roster and it is now a pleasure to learn how much he appreciated this.

If Al had devoted full time to statistics, I am sure that he would have been a real star, but it appears that from the first he found administration more attractive, and there he did become a real star. His first achievement was to build at Stanford one of the world's best statistics departments. He explains how the Berkeley loyalty oath troubles helped him in that effort, and this is bound to be of great interest to those who were involved. I feel sure, however, that anyone interested in Berkeley will find Al's memories fascinating, especially because of his great frankness.

Readers to whom the Berkeley campus is important are likely to be particularly interested in what Al has to say about his efforts to protect our academic quality. This was a very difficult time: student disturbances widely resented in the state, deteriorating physical plant, and unfriendly governors including Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown. Al got the students under control rather quickly. Among other measures he greatly stepped up fundraising, and dealt with governors and other state leaders in interesting ways that he describes.

Then as now I often lunched at a table in the Faculty Club favored by old timers. Al would join us from time to time, always making some crack or other. Last week, several of us were recalling a visit after Brown had submitted a budget that was especially damaging to the University. Al said, "I suppose we'll look back on Reagan as the last governor friendly to Berkeley."

A very attractive feature of Al's oral history is the large number of anecdotes. I especially like the story of his one-word answers to the nonnegotiable demands of which I had previously heard from an eye-witness. Many other anecdotes circulated on the campus, no doubt sometimes apocryphal. In one, a group of student protesters waiting for an appointment with Al, all wore dark glasses. When they were ushered in, they found him similarly outfitted. Before long the student leader said, "Chancellor Bowker, if you'll take yours off, so will we."

During the time of Al's predecessor, Roger Heyns, I had moved into administration, including serving on Roger's staff and as chairman of the Budget Committee. I suppose this is why Al discussed coming to Berkeley with me before making his decision and occasionally consulted me afterwards. I was startled to learn that only Roger and I had been consulted at Berkeley. Al did not offer me an administrative position, and his reason for not using friends in this way seems wise. I drifted into statewide affairs, serving as assistant to Vice President Angus Taylor as well as other responsibilities. This makes it possible for me to give an anecdote that I know to be true.

One evening, flying back from UCLA where I had chaired a meeting of the statewide Budget Committee, I sat next to the Berkeley representative. Knowing that he must have had substantial dealings with Al on personnel matters, I asked for his impressions. After long thought he replied: "Extremely intelligent....utterly political....a master of the calculated indiscretion."

Joseph L. Hodges, Jr.
Emeritus Professor of Statistics

February 1994
University of California, Berkeley

INTERVIEW HISTORY--by Harriet Nathan

Creating the post of Berkeley Chancellor in 1952 marked a shift in the University of California's governing structure, and put into place a more decentralized allocation of administrative responsibilities. The University President remained the overall head of the statewide system, while the Berkeley Chancellor, like those at other campuses, assumed the duties of chief campus officer. As the leaders of the University's oldest campus, Berkeley's Chancellors emerged as key players in the life of the campus and the University as a whole, and their oral history memoirs form a key element within the University History Series.

Of the Chancellors who have served and become emeritus, three have completed their oral history memoirs. They are Chancellors Edward W. Strong, in office 1961-1965; Roger W. Heyns, 1965-1971; and now Albert H. Bowker, 1971-1980. Roger Heyns's memoir was completed in 1987; Edward Strong's in 1992, supported by funding from the Chancellor's office. Two earlier Chancellors have chosen to write their memoirs. They are Clark Kerr, 1952-1958, with a work in progress, and Glenn T. Seaborg, 1958-1961, who with Ray Colvig, has completed his work, Chancellor at Berkeley, published in 1994 by the Institute of Governmental Studies at UC Berkeley. Martin Meyerson, Acting Chancellor during a portion of 1965, is not on record in the series.

When Albert Bowker retired as Chancellor, the Regional Oral History Office placed his name high on the list of candidates for an oral history memoir in the University History Series. Before the Regents had summoned him to Berkeley in 1971, he had achieved wide recognition in the west and the east as well, as a leader in higher education. His record of achievement encompassed two fields: one was academic, including research and teaching; the other, administrative. Albert Bowker's own education included a 1941 BS in Mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; during two years in residence at Columbia University, he was Associate Mathematical Statistician, and later Assistant Director, Statistical Group, Applied Mathematics Panel, earning a Ph.D. in Statistics in 1949. Two years earlier he had already joined the faculty at Stanford University, rising to Professor of Mathematics and Statistics. He remained at Stanford until 1963.

During the last four years there he was also Dean of Stanford's Graduate Division, and became increasingly attracted to administration. His significant administrative posts continued with eight years as Chancellor (equivalent to a systemwide presidency) of the City University of New York, where he developed expertise in multi-campus politics, academic policies, and administrative issues in a multi-cultural setting.

These experiences served him well when he came back to California to serve nine years as the sixth Chancellor of the Berkeley campus. Albert Bowker's new assignment was challenging, but he was not intimidated by the size and complexity of the campus and its occupants. This was familiar territory; many Berkeley faculty members had become his friends and colleagues through inter-campus links during his years at Stanford. He had also gained an understanding of Berkeley's history, statewide context, and political climate. It amused him to say that he was the first Berkeley Chancellor to be appointed because he had done well at Stanford. Both there and at CUNY he had built a reputation as an innovator in higher education, a creator of programs, departments, and colleges in an expanding series of opportunities. At Berkeley he found that his responsibilities required skill as a negotiator, consolidator, and defender of academic values in a climate of retrenchment.

Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien in 1990 issued an invitation to Albert Bowker to provide an oral history memoir, and he accepted on February 4, 1991. In preparation for the interview sessions, the interviewer gathered background materials and consulted with a number of his friends and associates on likely areas for discussion in the outline of proposed topics. Materials included clippings and files from the researcher's University History collection, and documents from the Bowker years at Berkeley were supplied from his own files. On request, he contributed materials from his earlier career and later activities that also had a place in his memoir. Further information, ideas, and materials were generously provided by a number of Berkeleyans including J. R. K. Kantor, Mark Christensen, Jack Rosston, Ray Colvig, Dick Hafner, and Angus Taylor. Their help and interest are deeply appreciated. In addition, Germaine LaBerge of the Regional Oral History Office supplied expert research assistance.

When he left Berkeley, Albert Bowker continued his active professional life with positions in Maryland, Washington, D.C., and New York, with his home base in Maryland. Fortunately for his Bay Area connections, he returned periodically to attend the dinners of the Berkeley Fellows and other groups, and to visit friends. He made one such visit during the first week in September 1991. By that time he had reviewed the proposed outline, and with administrative expertise solved the problem of scheduling Berkeley interviews without interrupting his work on the other side of the continent.

The solution was unique; he created the Bowker Marathon. Instead of a narrator's usual one-and-a-half to two-hour tape-recorded sessions at weekly to monthly or longer intervals, he provided twelve hours of interviews in four consecutive days: Interview 1, September 3, two hours;

Interview 2, September 4, four hours; Interview 3, September 5, four hours; and Interview 4, September 6, two hours.

He volunteered to come to the interviewer's home in North Berkeley for the interview sessions, a graceful gesture that involved moving himself instead of waiting for files and tape recorder to be brought to him. At the first interview some twenty years after he first took office in Berkeley, he looked very much as he did then. He had the same easy smile with a hint of amusement in his eyes; a familiar-looking dark suit, white shirt, and a tie, rather casually assembled and worn. He had perhaps a bit more gray in the hair that had not lost a slightly rumpled look.

As Chancellor Bowker sat at the head of the diningroom table, he consulted the outline, laid it aside, and began his memoir with the Berkeley years. He changed the outline chronology of his life so as to give pride of place to Berkeley's University History. He spoke easily and readily, leavening the discussion with a bright-eyed glance and a chuckle. The day following a session when he had provided four hours of interviews with only a brief break for lunch, he remarked with some surprise that the experience had left him so tired that it was an effort to go out to dinner that evening. The flow of his comments and grasp of issues appeared effortless; the interviewer's assurance that in truth he had been working hard the whole time was of interest to him, but probably not convincing. After the interviews were transcribed and lightly edited, he reviewed and approved them, and responded to a few additional queries.

Berkeley Professor Emeritus Joseph L. Hodges, Jr., agreed to call on decades of memories to write an introduction to his friend's oral history. He was a colleague dating back to the Stanford days when both men were focussing on the developing field of statistics.

When Albert Bowker became Berkeley's Chancellor in 1971, he faced repeated cuts in state financing and some erosion in public support for the University. He saw himself primarily as an institution builder, but the need for financial austerity dictated retrenchment instead of expansion. Although his predecessor, Roger Heyns, had made significant progress in reducing antagonism toward the University and particularly the Berkeley campus after the Free Speech Movement, Chancellor Bowker recognized and accomplished his mission. He "circled the wagons and kept the Philistines at bay" while he sought to maintain academic excellence among faculty and students. In his words, he was determined to "get Berkeley the respect it deserves." He knew that he needed to connect with many constituencies, both on campus and in the wider community as he dealt with changes in academic policies, issues concerning student demands, unrest, and questions of racial discrimination. He attended to the quality of the professional schools and to the status of departments,

supporting some and eliminating others, always with the aim of maintaining academic standards. He exercised his nonpartisan political skills, worked in concert with other colleges and universities in the Bay Area, kept a watchful eye on the conduct of the athletic program, and met representatives of the media. He enjoyed spending time with alumni, cultivated them in what was described as his "quiet but sociable" way, and developed a reputation for always doing what he said he would do. Throughout his term of office he made a point of attending Alumni Association Board meetings and alumni parties.

Reminiscing about his academic record, Albert Bowker said that one consequence of his choice of an administrative career was to diminish the amount of his scholarly publication. Nevertheless, between 1944 (midway in his studies and teaching at Columbia University) and 1965 (early in his chancellorship of the City University of New York) his publications included book chapters, articles in learned journals, and institute proceedings, as well as three major books. These included Sampling Inspection by Variables with Henry P. Goode; Handbook of Industrial Statistics, and Engineering Statistics, both with Gerald L. Lieberman. Of the textbook Engineering Statistics, Chancellor Bowker said that for ten or fifteen years it exerted substantial influence and was studied by many engineers. He added, "Chancellor Tien studied from that book, he tells me, as an undergraduate." Other publications he described as "some professional papers on multivariate analysis." He also did a joint paper with his wife, Rosedith Sitgreaves; they had been graduate students together.

Over the years, Albert Bowker's leadership in higher education brought honors and awards, and membership in prestigious groups. One paper in particular, prepared when he was Chancellor at Berkeley, received marked attention. After it was made available to the public, it became widely discussed and quoted: Berkeley in a steady state (mimeographed) a report to the Board of Regents of the University of California, September 21, 1973. The report included discussion of a model for faculty renewal, student participation on Chancellors' advisory committees, and forthright presentations of other campus issues in the context of a restrictive and inflexible budget.

He had many successes but noted with some chagrin his "greatest failure," the deterioration of the campus's physical plant, caused by a capital shortage that constrained efforts at maintenance and rehabilitation. This was true despite his success in consolidating fund-raising activities within the Chancellor's Office, a move that helped to boost contributions of private funds during his regime and those of his successors.

When Albert Bowker completed his term as Chancellor, his Charter Day speech gave rise to a "seedy and crummy" tour of the campus, showing the consequences of public and private reluctance to provide funds for upkeep and repair of campus buildings. Nevertheless, he noted that some maintenance money was forthcoming for every new building supported by private funds; some was available for rehabilitation, although not for remodeling.

He avoided permitting his schedule to become frantic, but he was in demand and had to do a certain amount of public speaking. He said he was not particularly good as a speaker, but thought his speeches improved as time went on, and that he was usually "fairly funny . . . short and funny." His face-to-face conversations, however, needed no improvement.

Chancellor Bowker has been described as a good listener, highly effective one-to-one, a man who is sociable and disarming in conversation. While he was Chancellor at Berkeley, he and the interviewer joined a small group who paid a visit to a San Francisco woman, recently widowed. The purpose was to present her husband's oral history memoir volume. On the way across the Oakland-San Francisco Bay Bridge, Chancellor Bowker asked a few questions about her, her husband and family, and the memoir. When she greeted the visitors, she was gracious and dignified but sad. Chancellor Bowker took the chair next to hers and gave her his full attention. They talked quietly together for some time; mostly he listened. Slowly, she relaxed and spoke more readily. By the end of the visit, he had lightened her mood, and changed the occasion from a pro-forma event to a pleasant gathering she clearly enjoyed.

Albert Bowker and his wife Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker enjoyed the traditional activities of the chief campus officer. They lived in and entertained frequently at University House, met prominent foreign visitors, alumni and faculty members, took a lively interest in public ceremonies, and indulged their taste for attending the theater.

Before her 1964 marriage to Albert Bowker, Rosedith Sitgreaves was recognized as a leading statistician with an impressive list of publications. Her background included teaching and government posts, with work in public health and education. When the Bowkers came to Berkeley in 1971, she taught for two years as a Professor of Statistics at California State University, Hayward; and eight years at Stanford University as Professor of Education (and Statistics, by courtesy), working with graduate students. She became emerita in 1980.

Soon after arriving in Berkeley, Rosedith Bowker said that she would continue her professional work. While she would not be available for daytime events, she would be glad to participate in evening activities and formal occasions. In this way, she introduced to the Berkeley campus

its first experience of a Chancellor's wife who served successfully as official hostess without sacrificing her professional work. She also opened new possibilities for the spouses of subsequent Chancellors to shape their own roles. Many applauded her decision, particularly young women academics who welcomed her as a woman of her time, and as an understanding colleague.

Rosedith Sitgreaves had developed a notable career as a professional: a teacher, mathematician, and statistician. In mid-life she continued her career and successfully added a new one: marriage, a family, and the responsibilities of an official hostess. At both Berkeley and Stanford, she also became the confidante and friend of many young career women, who hoped to learn how she managed to live a complex life and still maintain her serenity.

Along with praise, the Bowkers received some criticism, which they accepted with the understanding that their vision was not necessarily acceptable to every person in their varied constituency. They expressed pleasure and mild surprise at the outpouring of friendship that came their way. They enjoyed it, responded, and went on about their work.

In many oral history memoirs, the narrator's spouse contributes an interview that may include an individual view of a shared life, as well as personal experiences and observations. Mrs. Bowker had agreed to an interview that would deal with the Berkeley years and include aspects of her personal and professional life. During the September 1991 visit to Berkeley, she met with the interviewer for a planning session. A correspondence followed, and the interviewer sent a suggested topic outline for her to consider. She responded with answers to a few questions, and a copy of her vita. The interview was to take place during her next visit to Berkeley.

At the planning meeting, she was responsive and thoughtful, a petite woman, soft-spoken, gentle, and at ease. She was interested in the interview plans, and spoke with quiet assurance and a modesty that made the vita she sent later even more impressive. Rosedith Bowker referred briefly to a history of heart ailment, but seemed hopeful that a scheduled operation would be successful, and spoke cheerfully of the coming interview. Instead of the planned visit, she died unexpectedly on February 1, 1992 at the Bowker home in Maryland.

Friends, including many at Berkeley and Stanford, were saddened and shocked by her loss. Some portions of her story, however, have been collected in Appendix I in this volume. There is a collection of papers her husband provided, including the text of several memorial statements by colleagues, and references to her professional eminence.

Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker's qualities as an individual and a family person are best suggested by Albert Bowker's comments in his memoir and the memorial tribute, as well the remarks in which his daughter Nancy Bowker said, "Rose was a great stepmother."

Harriet Nathan
Interviewer/Editor

January 1995
Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley

Regional Oral History Office
Room 486 The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name Albert Hosmer Bowker

Date of birth September 8, 1919 Birthplace Winchendon, Mass.

Father's full name Roy Clement Bowker

Occupation Scientist Birthplace Baldwinville, Mass.

Mother's full name Kathleen Hosmer Bowker

Occupation Housewife Birthplace Baldwinville, Mass.

Your spouse Rosedith Sitgreaves

Occupation Professor Birthplace Easton, Penna.

Your children Paul, Nancy, Caroline Bliss

Where did you grow up? Washington, D.C.

Present community Washington, D.C.

Education B.S. Mathematics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1941;

Ph.D. Statistics, Columbia University, 1949

Occupation(s) Chancellor UC Berkeley; Chancellor and VP Research Foundation CUNY;
Professor Mathematics & Statistics and Dean Graduate Division Stanford University;

Dean Public Affairs and Executive VP University of Maryland
Areas of expertise Higher education; university management and administration;

department building; relationships with government agencies, the media, faculty,
students, interest groups

Other interests or activities theater, reading, socializing, international
education

Organizations in which you are active professional societies, Cosmos Club,
Washington D.C.

I CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY (1971-1980)

Stanford Sidelight

[Interview 1: September 3, 1991]##¹

Nathan: You were starting to tell me of some of your Stanford experiences.

Bowker: Stanford, when I first came, was not the major research university it is today, and Berkeley was the big brother across the way. I don't know how conscious I was of it at the time, but it was also true that my own field, statistics, was a relatively new development at both institutions. In a way, we were drawing together and fighting the conventional academic establishment, so we spent a lot of time back and forth between the two departments. Well, it wasn't a department here; it was a group in the mathematics department.

So I spent a certain amount of time in Berkeley. Later on, as I joined the administration at Stanford, I actually indeed spent a fair amount of time also with Berkeley people. Jim [James D.] Hart and I negotiated the famous treaty between Berkeley and Stanford that provided for exchange of graduate students when I was graduate dean. Sandy [Sanford] Elberg came in as graduate dean while I was still a graduate dean at Stanford, although I had also worked briefly with his predecessor, Morris A. Stewart.

I think that is kind of relevant to Berkeley, perhaps other things a little less.

¹This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes, see end of transcript.

Nathan: That's a nice insight. I'm glad to have that.

Bowker: In some ways I thought, although it's a little backwards, I might rather start with Berkeley and then go back and do my earlier life.

Nathan: Fine. This would be '71 to '80?

Bowker: Yes. I had pretty much decided to leave the City University [of New York] in 1971. They had been excellent years and very tumultuous [chuckles] and creative years in some ways, but I was ready for a change. I wouldn't call it burn-out exactly, but kind of. I was getting very tired of the highly political nature of the job.

Nathan: When you say political, are you thinking of state and city politics?

Bowker: Yes. I had an opportunity to travel extensively. The Carnegie Foundation gave me a travel grant to use preferably not in Europe, although I went to Greece and Africa. While I was away--the same thing happened to Charlie Hitch, I think--I thought, "What do I do this for?" [laughs] When I came back, I said, "How are things going?" My deputy said, "Fine," so I decided it was a good time to make a move.

Nathan: When you asked, "What do I do this for," did you mean CUNY?

Bowker: Yes. I really got sort of tired of the tensions between city and state, and there were other reasons. I considered somewhat going into the federal administration at that time. The Federal Commissioner of Education, Sid Marlow, was very anxious to have me as his higher education deputy. I had been on his board in New York, and we were good friends. He had been superintendent of schools in Pittsburgh.

As I wandered around Washington, I remember talking to George Shultz, who was then in the White House--maybe head of OMB [Office of Management and Budget], but anyway was in charge of the domestic side--and I talked to two or three people in Congress. I never liked [Richard M.] Nixon, and he really didn't have anything in mind in education that interested me, although it is true that all of these big student aid programs started in the Nixon days.

Multiple Interviews, and Accepting the Chancellor's Post

Bowker: Anyway, I decided not to do that, and then the Berkeley opportunity came along. I was approached by Charlie Hitch to see if I would be interested. I came out and was the choice of the search committee. The campus and the whole University at that time was in a state of deep suspicion if not open warfare.

Nathan: Internally and externally?

Bowker: It was a regents' search committee, but all of the regents insisted on interviewing me, so I had two interviews, one in northern California and one in southern California. There was a faculty-student search committee.

Nathan: And did they interview you also?

Bowker: Oh, yes. I can't remember now if the alumni had a separate search committee, or whether they were part of that one. Then the president had interviewed me at some length. After it was all over, people asked me what I thought of it, and I said I thought it was terrible and showed that nobody trusted each other.

The people on the faculty search committee included several people who knew me or knew of me, and they were probably my strongest supporters. That would be David Blackwell, George Maslach, Sandy Kadish--I never had met him, but he had been a City College graduate and then worked for a law firm I used in New York at one point, and they sort of knew me. The students had talked to the student government and CUNY.

The regents had had a kind of hard time at San Diego--and I've forgotten the details of that--and were anxious not to terribly politicize the choice at Berkeley. I suppose it's fair to say that [Chancellor] Roger's [Heyns] departure was quasi political, because Alex Sherriffs and the conservatives on the regents had had it in for him ever since Roger fired Alex. [laughs] They were making his life miserable.

Nathan: What kinds of questions did the different groups ask you? What were they after?

Bowker: Well, the faculty group more or less asked me about policies. One concern a lot of people had was the open admissions policy at the City University, and did I think Berkeley ought to have open admissions, and would I uphold the academic standards and rule at Berkeley. Bob Haas, who was on one of these committees, asked me

about intercollegiate athletics, I remember. Up to that moment I had never in my life probably given it one moment's thought. [laughter] I gave the usual nonsense--character-building, competition, and so forth.

The president of the alumni association, Chris Markey, who had become a strong partisan of mine for some reason, after it was all over came out and threw his arm around me and said, "That's all right, Al; Roger Heyns wasn't interested in athletics either." [laughter] That annoys Roger, because he actually is, and I'm actually not.

The questions were mostly about open admissions and how I had done it in New York. The City University had a policy--which I'll come to in my discussion of CUNY--that was introduced by me of providing a place to every high school graduate in New York City by a mixture of senior colleges and community colleges, similar to but somewhat different from the University. It got a very prominent press all the time it was going on, and it was very much resented by some people; it was viewed as lowering standards, and still is by many people.

There also had been collective bargaining in New York, and that didn't come up originally in the interviews, but it did later: did I advocate collective bargaining?

Nathan: For the faculty?

Bowker: Yes. Otherwise they were the standard kinds of questions. I don't remember anything being particularly unusual or difficult, and I went through all of these interviews and presumably passed them. The funny thing about it was that many of the people were Stanford people--Bob Reynolds, Bill Wilson, Dean Watkins. I can't remember all the people now, but those three come to mind. Glenn Campbell [laughter]. Glenn, of course, opposed me, probably; it's hard to tell.

There had been a fair amount of checking about my activities at Stanford, and I really had an excellent reputation there. I've often said that I was the one chancellor at Berkeley who was appointed because he did well at Stanford. It certainly influenced many people, including Dean Watkins, whom I had actually known moderately well, although he was a political ideologue. He sort of mellowed later. I wasn't sure he would support me.

I spent a couple of days with Charlie Hitch, and before saying yes, I talked to Roger Heyns and to one other person, Joe

Hodges, who was an old friend from faculty days. I decided to take the job.

The night before the regents were to meet, Charlie Hitch called me and said he didn't know what was going to happen. At that time the right-wing, conservative regents met on the night before the meeting with Alex Sherriffs, and they still did when I came. It was Catherine Hearst, John Lawrence, and Glenn Campbell. I don't know whether Dean was part of the group. Charlie said they were meeting, and he heard rumbles that there was going to be trouble. He would call me as soon as he knew. I said, "Okay."

The next day comes along, and in the meantime I had called people in New York and told them I was leaving, because it was supposed to be announced. The only memorable one I called was John Lindsay. I said, "John, I'm leaving. I'm going to be chancellor at Berkeley. The regents are going to elect me today." He said, "Well, you will get along better with the regents than I do." He had recently been turned down for an honorary degree. If you remember, there was a big flap about it, which couldn't have delighted him more, because it was all over the papers and created ten times more publicity than getting an honorary degree.
[laughs] To be turned down by the Reagan regents didn't hurt you in New York one bit, so they actually did him an enormous favor.

The day goes on, and there's no phone call from Charlie Hitch, so toward the end of the day I'm beginning to get kind of nervous. So I phoned him at Berkeley, but they were meeting in Los Angeles, and they had to give me the number to get Los Angeles. Charlie is rather private about his health, but he was in the hospital--some kind of thing he has once in a while; I guess I don't really know. I got Marge [Marjorie Woolman] on the phone, and I said, "I was supposed to be elected chancellor of Berkeley today. What's happened?" She said, "Well, [Chester] McCorkle is running things." I said, "Get McCorkle." She said, "He's in a meeting." I said, "Get him, for heaven's sake."

McCorkle gets on the phone, and I said, "This is Al Bowker, and I am supposed to be elected chancellor of Berkeley today." He said, "I don't know anything about it; it's news to me." He said the chairman of the search committee was Dean Watkins. So I said, "Well, get Dean on the phone." Dean came on the phone. It was kind of a dramatic incident. I said, "Dean, I understand I am coming up today to be elected chancellor of Berkeley." "Yes, well, mumble, mumble." I said, "Are you going to vote for me? If you're not, I withdraw right now." He said, "Oh. Well, um, let me ask you a couple of questions." Then he asked about collective bargaining, open admissions, and so forth, and said, "Yes, I'll

support you." Then he went in and moved that I be elected.
[laughs]

Nathan: That was a dramatic moment.

Bowker: It really was. [laughs heartily] Dean was very conservative and a kind of independent person, but he also, unlike some of the others, knew what it was to be the chief officer of an institution or to behave responsibly as a member of a corporate board. Actually, when he became chairman, he was very popular with the other chancellors, and with me, too. I mean, I got along with him all right, except I knew so much about him that I was a little surprised at how well he behaved. He had been chairman of the school board of Woodside, and he was very much also a member of the Stanford board, where he was usually a minority of one on most issues. I think his children grew up, and that mellows everybody. He would move that we increase our investments in South Africa because of the social good we were doing and things of that sort.

I came out to Berkeley, and actually I was invited to the Bohemian Grove that summer by a friend not Berkeley-connected, Allen Wallis. Of course, I spent a lot of time with people up there talking about Berkeley. Charlie Hitch was up there.

Nathan: There were quite a few from Berkeley, I gather.

Bowker: Yes, a lot of Berkeley faculty. In New York, two or three people had come to see me anyway; [Edward] Teller, saying he was a friend of Nelson Rockefeller and so forth. I never knew what he had on his mind. Roger told me some of the problems I would inherit, and he turned out to be accurate.

Then I came down and began to talk to people here.

Nathan: Which people do you mean?

Bowker: Deans, faculty leaders, budget committee, and so forth.

Chancellor's Office and the Professional Schools

Bowker: You asked about the organization of the chancellor's office. I have never either brought people with me in transitions or made big changes right away. Bob Connick was vice chancellor under Roger, and I asked him if he would stay on. He said no; he didn't think it was necessary. I think it would have been helpful if he

had. I asked him, however, if not as vice chancellor, to continue as a kind of private and secret advisor to me on matters. I talked to him once or twice, and I had Joe Hodges in somewhat the same role, both that I could seek out their advice and that they should tell me of anything they heard that I ought to know about that wasn't going well and was not appropriate.

Fairly early on, and I've forgotten exactly where, I was asked by William Wheaton, I believe, to meet with the deans of the major professional schools. I had a long meeting at his house with Wheaton; Edward Halbach, who was dean of the Law School; George Maslach; and the dean of the Business School, Dick Holton. They unloaded a good deal of grievances on me. You asked why I came to the office organization that I did; this meeting was fairly influential in that decision that Berkeley was essentially run by and for the Letters and Science establishment. The professional schools were not ignored, but their resources were not adequate, the chancellor didn't pay any attention to them. Their only access to the chancellor was in the council of deans, where they sat with all kinds of deans of little schools--journalism, librarianship. They all felt that their morale was pretty low.

There was something to that. The view had been that this was true at Berkeley; that would be the general opinion of the academic world. And not true at UCLA.

Nathan: How did that show itself?

Bowker: The Budget Committee was almost always dominated by Letters and Science faculty. If anyone asked me who the strongest people at Berkeley were--this was when I was back at Stanford--actually I would have said Bill Fretter or the botanist, Lincoln Constance. They were the bigshots. I never heard of all these other people. [laughs] The dean of Letters and Science has always traditionally been the most powerful person at Berkeley.

Nathan: Would this mean restrictions in FTE [full-time equivalents] or overscale faculty?

Bowker: Yes, FTE, overscale salaries, and attention. I don't know; part of it is hand-holding, development. Berkeley, of course, had never done any fund raising to speak of.

Nathan: That is, before you came?

Bowker: Yes. Jack Raleigh, who is a close friend and someone I still see --I've seen him even since I've been here--I remember was the vice

chancellor for academic affairs. Whatever his virtues are, and there are many, he would certainly present that point of view. I remember in the Tony Platt appointment, I once said to him, "How could this have happened?" He said, "Oh, well, it's only in a professional school; what difference does it make?" Now, engineering was sort of more "in" than the others, and the Law School has such a strong ego that it didn't care, really.

But there is something to it. If you look at America's great universities--Harvard, Yale, Princeton, now Stanford--the things that matter are medicine, law, and business, and engineering at Stanford but not elsewhere; there are special reasons for that. You know, Harvard College is nice, but the things that matter at Harvard are law, business, and medicine, if you really know about the power structure and what concerns people. The graduate school of Arts and Sciences is important, but it doesn't dominate the place by any manner of means.

Nathan: I'm just wondering if the fact that the University of California is land grant vis-à-vis private, has any influence.

Bowker: Well, it does in the sense that the land-grant institutions have a handful of professional schools. Actually, it sort of works the other way; land-grant institutions were set up to be practical. The main difference between the major land-grant institutions and the major private institutions deals not so much with those schools but with social work, education, librarianship--a whole bunch of schools that are aimed at low-paying professions. Those are tagged onto Berkeley, and they're not at Harvard. Well, Harvard has a School of Education and Columbia has a School of Social Work, but by and large the big, great, private universities don't have these small professional schools.

Nathan: It sounds as though there is a distinction between the few big, powerful professional schools and then the other professional schools?

Bowker: Yes. There isn't the prestige. It's hard for an expensive, private university to be a serious supplier of people for low-pay employment--social work, librarianship. Most of the posh privates have abolished their schools of dentistry now. I wouldn't think that would be so low paid, but it's not "in"; that's a public university function.

I wasn't anxious to get rid of any of the schools. Well, I was, a couple of them. There are schools that don't really need to be in a research university of the caliber of Berkeley.

Criminology was one, obviously, and I think Education is another. We can come to that.

I guess it was because of some personal problems that we later became reasonably friendly with Walter Knight, who was then dean of Letters and Science. He was very unresponsive; he wouldn't take my phone calls. I really got mad at him. Of course, they can argue that Berkeley didn't really need a chancellor, especially one from outside, appointed by these regents. [laughs]

So I decided to change the administration; it was not a bad idea. The consequence, that has more or less stuck since, was that one of my senior officers would be for the professional schools; it was partly a result of this meeting I mentioned earlier. One of my other senior officers would be the dean of Letters and Science, who would be provost and part of my cabinet and not totally isolated from me, representing a large enrollment. I kept the dean of the graduate division the way it was, except that I moved the research portfolio into it. It really isn't a job. The vice chancellor for research when I came here was running the ORUs [organized research units] and was kind of a lobbyist for agriculture: Loy Sammet, a nice man. We're still good friends.

Student Affairs

Bowker: Then I abolished the vice chancellor for academic affairs, and I had a deputy. Bob Kerley was vice chancellor for administration, including student affairs.

##

Nathan: Why did you want to keep student affairs there?

Bowker: Partly because Bob Kerley was good with students, and he liked that. He had an attractive personality, and it was one of his major interests. It turned out in the sixties that the traditional student affairs people had just fallen apart. I would go and talk to them, and they would say, "Gee, what could you expect, when the students did this and that and this and that," and they weren't very useful.

What you needed was partly some people who would play politics with them as adults, partly people who could be tough

with them when needed. The people who were the traditional counsellor, dean of students types, had been tried and found wanting; they just weren't very good in relating to students. Kerley had student interns, and we had periodic, probably monthly, meetings with the student body officers. We spent a lot of time handling this and talking to the students.

At the same time, I had decided that I would not permit disruption of classes or occupation of any buildings, period. Sandy Elberg, Dick Hafner, and Jack Raleigh, who was then in California Hall, tell me that one of the things they remember most about my early period was a demonstration outside my office, which I had intended to ignore and wanted to. They were all sort of cowering in their offices, apparently thinking it was going to be a repetition, which it might well have been, of some of the unpleasantness of the sixties. The students finally demanded to talk to me, and I had refused.

It went back and forth, and finally Kerley said, "You've really got to go out and talk to them. They'll go away if you do." So a group of student leaders came into California Hall, and they presented me, one after another, with nine non-negotiable demands. I can't remember what they were, but they were probably the start of the School of Ethnic Studies, probably reinstate Cathy and Mike (one of my early moves was to suspend them), and one thing and another. They repeated each one, and every time I said, "No." Nine times in a row, apparently, I said no. These were non-negotiable.

Then it was over, and they did go away. They went out chanting, "Bowker says no." [laughs] I had that incident used against me a couple of times; people would say how unresponsive I was. Apparently it was a very dramatic incident.

Nathan: It was. Was this related to the School of Criminology issue?

Bowker: I don't think so; I think it was before that. That might have been one of the demands.

When I first came in, there was the famous case of Cathy and Mike that was on my desk; Roger handed it [on] to me. They had disrupted Robert Scalapino's class. I upped the penalty, and they had been through a couple of years of hearings and disciplinary proceedings. It had been recommended, I think, that they be reprimanded, and as I recall I suspended them for a quarter; sort of slapped them on the wrist, it seemed to me.

I upped the penalty partly because my own view of Berkeley was that it was in some disarray. It had very little public support, and one needed at that time to begin to make some statements that things were going to be different. I don't think I'm particularly right wing--I'm very apolitical in the sense that I don't have an ideology--but I did think it was in the interest of the campus that there appeared to the public to be a sterner hand at the helm. That was my view, right or wrong; I think it was right.

It was reinforced by many things, not only the regents, of course, but by the press. I'd go to the Central Valley and visit Stockton or Modesto, and they'd say, "I'm not going to send my kids to a place like that." Although people don't admit it, Berkeley was having trouble filling its freshman class, and we were not close to filling the dormitories. People were not coming here. It's very different today, and it was very different when I left. Part of it was the general change in climate.

Nathan: May I ask what happened to Cathy and Mike?

Bowker: I don't really know, silly as it sounds; because it was a big issue. We had a freshman reception, and about every fifth person who came through the line mentioned Cathy and Mike: "How could you do that to Cathy and Mike?" These were kids in scruffy jeans. You know how the freshman reception works; there are student hosts and hostesses in tuxedos and gowns, and then these kids. When I left nine years later, everybody was dressed to the nines, both the hosts and the guests. [laughs] I couldn't help but remark on how different it was.

Nathan: When you came out to talk to the students, was that a departure? Does the chancellor usually sent a negotiator to talk to disaffected groups?

Bowker: I don't know. Bob Kerley sort of masterminded it. He did most of negotiating, and I did this at his request. I don't really know what Roger had done. I don't mean any of this to be much of a criticism of Roger, looking back over what he did and what he said. I guess I think I would have done about the same thing, but times were different, and a new chancellor coming in ought to make it better. That was very popular with the faculty. I had letter after letter from the faculty saying, "Thank God," including some of the bomb throwers from the sixties. [laughs] Not everybody, to be sure.

Priorities: the Cabinet and the Schedule

Bowker: I did move Errol [Mauchlan] into the cabinet. I always worked with a cabinet in New York and in other places, so I had a cabinet, and we met. I asked Mark Christensen to be my first vice chancellor. Almost all the administrators at Berkeley have come from inside, and almost all the deans have come from inside. It's a very inbred place, but still you had two chancellors in a row from outside; it was kind of unusual. It seemed to me I ought to have really good roots into the faculty.

Rod Park had been chairman of the Budget Committee, and there is nothing more faculty establishment than that. Mark was head of the faculty senate also and was one whom I found very attractive and enjoyed working with. George Maslach came from the School of Engineering, and Errol Mauchlan, of course, was here. I've always had an executive assistant, and I inherited Jack Schuster; but I moved him along and put in Glenn Grant, who had been one of Bob Kerley's protégés in student affairs. I think when Norvel Smith was made chief student affairs officer, he was added and attended cabinet meetings, but these were the people whom I met with regularly.

I had one other thing that I thought was important, and that was called a scheduling committee. It seemed to me generally that it was very important how chief executives used their time, and therefore once a week I met with my secretary; my executive assistant; Dick Erickson representing the alumni association and later the development office; Lila Carmichael, social secretary from the house; Garff Wilson, in charge of public ceremonies; and Dick Hafner. All invitations to speak or to appear, or even most invitations for appointments, were referred to this committee. If someone called for an appointment, if it was a regent or a dean or something they might get one. The secretary would say, "The chancellor keeps his own calendar; I'll ask him to get back to you." I don't think it offended people very often; it may have on occasion.

Then I was very tight about what I did. If speeches had to be written, I'd say, "You do a draft." I have found this to be most helpful, both here and in New York.

I've seen many people who let their secretaries make appointments, and they just get scheduled to a frazzle. Also, I kept one afternoon a week free, sometimes two. I found in New York during the student violence that I often had to make decisions when I was quite tired and on top of a full day. I had

a feeling there would be some crises at Berkeley, and I didn't want to get over-tired when I had to face them. So I was perhaps less visible than some chancellors. Be that as it may, I almost never did anything like speak to Kiwanis or local groups or things like that. I just didn't think it was very important, and I didn't want to do it; I didn't enjoy it.

Academic Management: Appointments, Advancement, Budgets

Nathan: What were your priorities? What were the things you most wanted to do or felt to be important?

Bowker: One thing that I missed when I was at CUNY, and which attracted me to come back to a campus, was to be involved in the academic management of an institution. At Stanford I was really involved in building a university of first rank, and the job here was to keep Berkeley in that category. I just thought every academic decision, particularly on promotion and tenure, appointments, and budget allocations were very important, and that's where I wanted to spend my time.

As it turned out, as time went on that didn't always work out, but for the first year or two I read in detail and spent a lot of time on every faculty appointment myself. Later I found I could rely on--well, you can always rely on a budget committee, actually; they're a hanging jury if there ever was one.

[laughter] When I disagreed with them, I usually overruled them.

Nathan: How often can a chancellor overrule the budget committee?

Bowker: Not often, but you can. A lot depends on the reasons and if you go down and tell them why--and you have to go down and tell them why or write and tell them why. But then they report to the faculty senate how many times they disagree, and all the insiders know what the cases are.

One of the problems, though--the faculty had voted to establish a School of Ethnic Studies or Black and Hispanic Studies or something like that, and the people who had been appointed, particularly to Black Studies, were totally unqualified. The budget committee got to the point where they refused to review them, saying they were just political appointments, so I was handed a bunch of people. That was really a tough one. I had to fire them all.

Nathan: They had come in as assistant professors?

Bowker: No, mostly lecturers. They had tyrannized the campus to some extent, and they thought they had it made. I went around and got some of the Black faculty to help me, but most people were nowhere to be found. The chairman of the budget committee the year that I had the crisis was Elizabeth Colton, an anthropologist, and she was very, very helpful. Oh, they threatened and put bombs near the house. I don't know who did it, but it was really pretty tough. They banged on the door and threatened that there was going to be violence and so forth.

The day they were supposed to leave, the police chief called me and said he wanted to put a guard on the office because they were going to steal the files and the furniture and so forth. I said, "You're kidding," and he said, "No, I'm not." I said, "Don't put a guard on the office, whatever you do." And they did; they stole the safes.

Nathan: They stole--?

Bowker: Yes, they stole things. So Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally comes down to support them. I said, "These people are crooks; they stole stuff." He demurred, "Oh, well, that's different." [laughs heartily] And the police were going to stop them. Nothing discredited them more than that, stealing furniture and files and books.

Nathan: About when was this?

Bowker: Probably in my first year.

Nathan: About '71 or '72?

Bowker: Probably. Merv Dymally came charging down here--well, he didn't really care; someone had worked him up. You really always had to distinguish between the public posturing of public figures and what they really cared about.

Nathan: When you were speaking of appointments and said you were reading the qualifications of the person nominated for advancement, what was it that you looked for?

Bowker: Oh, scholarship and research primarily. Berkeley never paid much attention to teaching.

Nathan: [laughter] I wondered if you would tell me that.

Bowker: It is also our competitive position: Is this really one of the best people in the country? It might be different now, but I don't think so. The academic quality game is highly competitive: are they really good? Are there really other people after them? Is this really important to the campus? Or is it somebody who has been around and who is just being promoted?

It turned out that early on we had to make a decision on whether to authorize recruitment of senior people or whether, in view of the limited resources, to put a kind of quota on promotions. This was called the renewal model, I think, or anyway a mathematical model. Finally it was decided--I decided, I think, although who knows; maybe there were a lot of people involved, too--to operate in such a way that the number of people recruited as "stars," distinguished full professors, would be relatively small, and we would concentrate on very intensive recruiting of able young people. That seemed to work.

I believe, by the way, that Berkeley's academic distinction was maintained during my regime in very difficult circumstances, and I think the ratings of the national research councils when they came out supported this view. Berkeley was still probably in that sense one of the best universities in the country, if not the best.

Nathan: Did the budgetary constraints have any effect on what you were able to do?

Bowker: Yes. I mean, it made us make that choice; we couldn't do both.

Nathan: So you weren't buying Nobel Prize winners during that time?

Bowker: No. Guessing.

Nathan: Hoping for the next one?

Bowker: That's right.

Nathan: Were you getting any women applicants?

Bowker: Well, the women came, and the number of women on the faculty increased considerably during my regime, partly due to the general affirmative action moves around the country. We did encourage any department where there was a chance of doing it to appoint women. We probably were easier not on standards but on FTE allocation for a woman or a minority candidate; most people are. That seemed to work fairly well, although the number of women in engineering and the physical sciences was still minuscule. But the very

conservative departments, like History, English, Sociology, and so forth--they would hate to be called it, but they were very academically conservative and male oriented--began to appoint women who were well qualified.

Faculty Personnel Cases

Bowker: You mention the Tony Platt case [in your outline], and there were two rather difficult personnel cases while I was chancellor. One, as I was leaving, was Harry Edwards, and the Platt case was in the beginning of my tenure.

Clark Kerr had once or twice tried to abolish the School of Criminology, I'm told, and had failed because the establishment of police and public safety complained so much that he was overruled or backed down. But I had decided pretty much that, with the limitation on resources, some units ought to be curtailed or eliminated, and criminology had become politicized to the point where it really wasn't taken very seriously by the public safety establishment any more.

Nathan: How do you mean politicized?

Bowker: It had become radical. There weren't any policemen in it or any law enforcement people; they were sociologists and social scientists. It hadn't become a serious professional school.

Nathan: They weren't training chiefs of police in August Vollmer's tradition any more?

Bowker: No. Probably they hadn't been for a long time. That isn't something you'd probably want to do at Berkeley anyway, when you come right down to it. The school wasn't in very good shape. There weren't very many tenured people, only a couple. Platt had been recommended for tenure, and then his recommendation had been withdrawn. As I saw it, he probably should not get tenure, and therefore I refused to send him up to the regents again, although I must say that he had a pretty strong procedural case, not an intellectual case. That started a big fight on campus, and in the end he went to the Privilege and Tenure Committee. They wrote a report sort of dumping on me, and I said, "Well, appoint another independent faculty review committee. I will abide by their decision." They did, and the faculty review committee reported negatively.

I won't say that was all there was to it. You see, he had been passed by the Budget Committee and gone to the regents as associate professor with tenure. In the interval he had been arrested for something or other, so his name was withdrawn. It was something to do with the campus. Then he sued the campus authorities for harassment or false arrest. One of the weaknesses here has always been that the general counsel reported to God or to the regents, and not to anybody running the place. They settled with him, so he could claim that he had a victory. It would have been much better if they hadn't.

So here he was, and with this one thing he had a pretty strong case. I assumed, actually, that he'd get tenure in the courts, but he didn't. It's a complicated story. He went to a judge who wasn't very sympathetic to him, and then he decided to handle his own appeal before the appellate division, which was very self defeating. You never do that. Anyway, he didn't get tenure.

Decision on the Criminology School

Bowker: The other reason was that I thought the Criminology School wasn't serving any useful purpose and didn't need to be at Berkeley. There was some criminology at [UC] Santa Barbara which could have been the basis for whatever needed to be done at the University of California. So I decided to abolish the school, and I got a faculty committee to recommend that. If they had recommended otherwise, I wouldn't have been able to do it. It was a fairly prestigious committee, chaired by Allen Sindler. People were jumping up and down. John Vasconcellos was unhappy, and everybody in Sacramento was jumping up and down and said they had to be involved in it. However, I announced my decision on election day.

Nathan: On purpose?

Bowker: Yes. Everybody was so busy [laughs], I never heard from them. It was perhaps a little manipulative, but still--. Then some of those people who had tenure were moved over into the Law School into a program of law and criminal justice or something, which apparently has had some success. There were several people in criminal law over there anyway--Sandy Kadish, I think, and Phil Johnson. There's a small doctoral program, which I've heard is pretty good. I haven't really followed it.

Nathan: I think in a Daily Cal article there was a statement that the weakness of the school might have some connection with declining to put another FTE there. Is that the way you see it?

Bowker: One could have turned it around and built it up, sure. I wasn't looking for things to build, particularly. With few exceptions--

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Bowker: Maybe we ought to finish up the criminology discussion. You're right, a criminalistics group was moved to Public Health because it still had a professional background. It's not entirely clear how many resources we saved--some, as time went on. In addition to that, to turn around and build a school up to one of importance and distinction would have taken substantial resources, which we didn't have.

This did represent the major student demonstration during my day. The criminology building, which is adjacent to University House, was occupied. There really were hundreds of students involved, and the question was whether to open it, to clear it, after it had been occupied during the day, clear it overnight. Mrs. Bowker was teaching at Stanford, and when she drove home she heard on the radio about the occupation. The head of the student body, the dean of criminology, the vice chancellors, and everybody was gathered at University House in the late afternoon.

The police chief was there, and he said, "Well, we have to decide pretty soon if we're going to clear it." They all recommended that I not move on it, and I didn't. Then I went in my study and thought it over, and I came out and said, "Move." Mrs. Bowker and I went to a motel, not because we were in any immediate danger, but just so the police wouldn't have to waste resources on the barrier between University House and the School of Criminology, which is right next door.

Nathan: Which building would that be?

Bowker: It's the one where social work now is.

Nathan: Oh, Haviland Hall.

Bowker: Yes.

Nathan: So you went to a motel, and what happened?

Bowker: Well, we cleared it. Nothing much happened. Students were arrested. I can't remember when it was, then or later, that there

was a jury trial, and the jury concluded that they had the wrong defendants, that I was guilty and the students were innocent. [laughter] But they didn't have any jurisdiction over me.

It was hard on some of the young people who were quite radicalized by the faculty. Some were, like many children of the sixties--I've known a couple of children of friends, although it's always kind of hard to know about such people. There was a cost to it, no question about it; it was hard on people, hard on some faculty, hard on the institution. But I still believe it was the right thing to do. I had just made a decision that we would not allow disruption of classes or occupation of buildings.

Of course, it had always seemed to me in retrospect that if Clark [Kerr] or the people who were running Berkeley had taken a firm stand all along, Berkeley would not have had all the troubles it had. If you read the history of that period, they waffled all the time. First they said this, and then they said that, and then this and that. Be that as it may, we never had any serious activity after that, and part of it was changing times. It wasn't the most pleasant thing in my administration, and I remember that practically all of my senior officers, the president of the student body, and everybody were there saying, "No, don't do it; there will be bloodshed." Sometimes you have to crack a few heads.

Nathan: Did the students go limp and have to be carried out?

Bowker: Oh, yes. It was quite bloody, but not as bad as some of the things in the sixties. It was quite significant.

Relations with the Press

Nathan: How did you deal with the press, both the Daily Cal and off-campus media?

Bowker: On this particular incident I don't really remember. Dick Hafner was always good with the press, and I was always open to the press. In the case of the criminology decision, I had a press conference because there was so much attention to that, but on election day. [laughs] I learned that at Brooklyn College. I decided to clear it once in the late sixties, and I cleared it at 2 a.m. A reporter from the New York Times, who is a very prominent man now, and I keep bumping into him, says, "Why did you do that at 2 a.m.? You ruined my story." I said, "Three

guesses." You really always want to do something like that on Saturday or when there's something else going on.

You'd have to ask Hafner, but I think I had good relations with the press on the whole. On the whole, however, I tried to keep Berkeley out of the papers: the less said about us the better; now is the time to sit down and not be counted. [laughs] Berkeley never gets a good press somehow.

I have a funny story. Fred Hechinger is a main writer for the New York Times, and the truth is that he used to--I don't know if he still does--spend a month in Palo Alto every summer. Then he tries to think of professional reasons to extend his vacation a few weeks. Part of the detailed coverage of the trouble in the sixties was due to Hechinger and his vacation plans. It was the New York Times that adopted Berkeley as the news center.

He was out here one summer, and he was writing a story on homosexuality on campus. I said, "Fred, you've done enough to Berkeley." His wife and Therese Heyman were friends, and I've known him; he's a City College boy. "Okay, I won't mention Berkeley in the story." So a magazine story in the New York Times comes out, and on the cover of the magazine section are two boys holding hands, with the campanile in the background. [laughs heartily]. He said, "I had nothing to do with the covers." It was probably true.

Nathan: Does he still come out?

Bowker: I don't know. His children are grown up now, and it was partly his summer family vacation.

I went and visited all the editorial boards and got to know them. I think I had reasonably good press coverage, but the Daily Cal was pretty hopeless. We were friendly; in fact, we supported them. They were always running out of money.

Nathan: Were they off campus?

Bowker: They were off campus during my time; I helped negotiate that. But we still had to subsidize them some, or look the other way while the student government subsidized them. But there's not much you can do about that.

Relations with Political Figures

Nathan: Do you feel that you are particularly effective one-to-one when you meet people face to face rather than in bigger groups?

Bowker: Yes. I never was a particularly good public speaker.

Nathan: But you seem to be able to deal with the important centers, the press and politicians.

Bowker: In New York I was a very important figure politically. There are little ways you can tell. When the Pope visited New York, I was one of those people invited to meet him at the airport. It was the governor, the mayor, a handful of cardinals, Senator Kennedy. I mean, there were thirty or forty people, but there weren't any other college presidents in the crowd, let me put it that way, except maybe the president of St. John's College, but I don't remember.

Anyway, I was really important, and here I wasn't particularly. I went to see [Governor] Ronald Reagan when I first arrived as a courtesy call. He said, "You're the first chancellor of the University of California who has ever come to see me." That wasn't true, by the way; still, he said it. [laughs] We had a pleasant talk, but he had no particular message. And I went to see Robert Moretti, who was the speaker. I called Willie Brown and asked him to come over for lunch.

Nathan: Did he come?

Bowker: Yes. We had a nice lunch, and then I said, "I'll give a little reception for you. Give me a list of people you'd like." So he gave me a list, and boy, what a collection in University House: [laughs] They were startled, and so was I. I was always courteous. I remember saying to Willie, "You've got a great future here if you keep your nose clean."

I'd just come from New York, where we had gone through about six blacks for deputy mayor, and there had been a scandal about each one. Willie replied, "Don't worry about me; I have a good Jewish accountant." We were reasonably friendly, not close friends, but I think he respected me. If his law firm ever tried to nose around too much, I would call him and say, "You're in the wrong." It only happened once or twice, I think.

Nathan: What were they looking for?

Bowker: Oh, just fighting for blacks. They were representing people who were black that I had fired. It was personnel matters mainly.

Nathan: In California you overlapped [Governor Edmund G.] Jerry Brown [Jr.]. How did it go between you?

Bowker: Oh, yes. I don't know, I never really cared much for him. One of the funny incidents--I had known Al Lowenstein at Stanford and then a little bit in New York. One summer, Jerry decided he'd have a lot of student interns in Sacramento. They began to arrive, and it suddenly occurred to somebody that they hadn't planned anything for them to do. So Jerry called Allard, who was sort of floating around, and he came out to organize the interns. Allard came down two or three times in the summer, and we had lunch. He said, "You've got to get together with Jerry. You two will hit it off." I said, "No, we won't. I don't like him. We won't get along at all." Al said, "You've got to hit it off with Jerry." He said, "You come over to the house, and my wife will cook dinner. It will be just the four of us sitting around. You two will just--you've just got to get together." Finally I said, "Okay, I'll do it."

We go up to Sacramento, and we're going to meet in the governor's office. We never did get to Allard's house. It turned out that he and his wife were never on very good terms in these years, and I didn't know that; I had no reason to. I said to Rose, "We'd better stop off here in the bar and have a couple of drinks. I fear the worst." So we stopped and had a couple of drinks, and we were a little late. No Jerry, and no Jerry. Finally, about nine-thirty he called, and we said we would all meet over in this restaurant. We went to this awful place, a vegetarian restaurant where I sort of choked on a soybean steak.

By 11 o'clock, Jerry had never shown up, so I got up and went home. Apparently no one had ever done that before. They said he was busy. This was typical. I mean, I knew something dumb would happen. Every time I saw him after that, he apologized, "I'm sorry I didn't get there." I'm the chancellor of the University of California; I can't wait around all day for everybody. I didn't say that to him, but I have said it to others. I had to say it to John Lindsay once. I said, "I'm the chancellor. You're the mayor, but I'm the chancellor; don't forget it." [bangs table] "Oh." [laughter]

I think some educational figures are too easy with politicians, too accessible, and I just never was. I guess I was reasonably successful; who knows? I didn't do much politically here except keep us out of trouble.

Nathan: I guess Jerry, as the governor, was the chair of the regents?

Bowker: Not really. He was the president of the regents, and they elect a chair who presides at the meetings. He didn't come very often. Reagan always came, and Reagan used the regents. Jerry didn't care much for them. Once in a while he'd come. He didn't like big institutions. Once he asked me why I made more money than he did. I said, "Because I'm older, wiser, and more valuable." [laughter] I don't think you got any budget out of Jerry, no matter what you did, and those things were settled pretty much with University Hall. I always talked back to him. Like getting up and leaving--now, that really startled everybody. No one had ever done that to the governor before.

Nathan: I read in the Daily Cal a nicely balanced statement that you made, in which you said something to the effect that Jerry Brown was really more interested in the University than many people thought --you know, very friendly and nice.

Bowker: When Jerry was governor, I had Pat [Edmund G. Brown, Sr.] up once and gave him a citation at Charter Day. In the introduction I do remember really bringing down the house by saying, "Your generosity to the University looks better and better every day." [laughter] Pat laughed. He said, "I'm going to tell Jerry about this."

Nathan: I gather that you are not really in awe of political figures.

Bowker: No, not really. But I have had an interesting life, in that I've had to work closely, really, with Nelson Rockefeller, Bob Wagner, John Lindsay, Ronald Reagan, and Jerry Brown. Now, that's quite a collection.

Nathan: What have you learned from all of that, or what did you teach them?

Bowker: Both here and in New York I worked with a lot of people in the legislature, and there has never been a feeling that anything that I was advocating was for me, but it was for the institution or for the students or for the faculty. So many of the people who hang around up there are looking for fees for lobbying or something of that sort. I think basically most people respect the University and the fact that the University acts in a dignified way.

I think the worst thing you can do is what the University of California does--have a legislative day, in which you bring all the legislators together. They hate each other anyway, and they see each other all the time. It's always struck me as one of the

dumbest things. They do it in Washington, too. I always did my political work one on one and cultivated them.

I always liked [State Senator] Nick Petris; we used to have him to dinner, for example. We got him very interested in Nemea and the Greek excavation. He was actually born in Greece, or his father was, in a little village not too far from Nemea. I actually went with him over there once myself after I wasn't chancellor any more, and we had a good time traveling together for a couple of days.

I was quite friendly with Warren Widener, the mayor of Berkeley. I couldn't stand the next mayor. I didn't really socialize with people I didn't like. I was friendly with John Vasconcellos, but I didn't really like him, so I don't think I ever had him to the house. There weren't too many people politically important to us. You have the speaker of the Assembly--oh, I had some of the [state] senators in; I kind of liked them once in a while. But whenever I did anything political, it was one on one.

For example, Nick Petris several times helped me with things. He was always senior enough and on the budget committee so that I could call him and say, "I've got to have this." "Okay." I think it's fair to say that he really bailed the University out later on in the animal rights thing and allowed them to go ahead with these biology labs--privately, but up there at the legislature he was a good friend.

Ken Meade--I used to have him around once in a while.

Relations with Regents

Nathan: Was there any question of not intruding on statewide University activities?

Bowker: Yes. Any regent who was Berkeley-related, I felt free to see socially and did, and they were all at the house some. I was quite friendly with Elinor Heller and went down there [to her house] once or twice a year; and with the Moores, and some with Bill Coblenz. I can't remember other people. If I talked business with them at a social event, I would tell the president. He didn't like it particularly. [laughs] I'm not going to ignore Berkeley alums just because they're regents, period. The staffs would fuss.

Abolishing Departments: Demography, and Design

Nathan: I don't want to skip over some of your other activities with various departments, if you'd care to pick up on that again. Let's see, we had Department of Demography--

Bowker: Demography was a small group, and it had a lot of trouble recruiting faculty, largely because it was dominated by Judith Blake. I just decided to abolish it, largely because it was just one person, really, on permanent position. It's just something you can have or have not, not an important subject.

There are some subjects that every university must have-- mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, history, English, philosophy, some of the languages, and others. Demography is not one of them, and criminology is not one of them. If you have it, it ought to be good and large. They kept bringing it back, and apparently that was not so much on intellectual grounds. It's a silly subject and the group there couldn't be very effective. Then Judith left, and somebody revived it, not in my day.

Nathan: Do you remember the Department of Design?

Bowker: Vaguely. Yes, we abolished that for the same reason, I guess. I've forgotten now what design was.

Nathan: Design had to do with the practice and principles of art, of options in the use of materials, and history of the development of, say, fiber art, sculpture--many things that pulled together a rather interesting group of knowledge. Apparently it had pretty distinguished faculty members and students. It went to Davis.

Bowker: It was something where there was probably nothing wrong with it, but we just didn't have to have it; it wasn't a core subject. Neither Art nor Architecture fought very hard for it, as I remember, although they probably dumped on me some. I don't really remember much about that. I think it was sort of on the skids when I arrived.

Nathan: So in a sense it would have to do partly with faculty support in other departments?

Bowker: Part of it, yes. Part of it would be on enrollment and budget, and part of it may be on a kind of accident of having a critical mass of people. Every field has to have a certain number of faculty people to really be successful. Demography really only had one. You don't run a doctoral program with one person.

The Neighborhood Idea for Undergraduate Education

Bowker: You mention in your outline Strawberry [Creek] College, for example. I thought I ought to do something to try, at least for some number of students, to have a different kind of undergraduate experience. We considered Strawberry College and Joe Tussman's activity, Tussman Tech. Tussman resubmitted his proposal. I had lunch with Tussman last year, and he said, "Why didn't you take mine instead of Strawberry College?" Now, [the College of] Letters and Science always opposes anything like this, whatever it is.

Nathan: No reforms of undergraduate education?

Bowker: Not to take away from the conventional departments in other ways. I told Tussman that I couldn't remember all the details. He's sent me a paper about that experiment, that had a name besides Tussman Tech: the Experimental College Program. I said, "It all depended on you. You didn't get a cadre of faculty interested in it. It was a one-man show, and it didn't look as if it could be institutionalized." And the same thing happened to Strawberry Creek College after I left. Was that Charles Muscatine's?

Nathan: Yes, Strawberry was Muscatine's.

Bowker: I thought that might have more chance, but it didn't. Apparently it has gone away, hasn't it?

Nathan: It has. Is this part of the attempt at reform of undergraduate education?

Bowker: Well, in a big place like Berkeley--I think I'm indebted to [Earl F.] Budd Cheit for this analogy: "How do you like New York City?" "I hate New York City, but I like my neighborhood." It seemed to me that in a great, big place like Berkeley there ought to be neighborhoods. For some students, the neighborhood is a department or a departmental club, for some students it's a residence group, and for some students it's extracurricular activities. I just thought we ought to try and create--

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Bowker: --the freshman cluster program. This was developed by Alan Searcy and Errol Mauchlan, really, and I supported it. The freshmen were grouped by intended major. Many of them didn't have intended

majors, and they were then asked if they wanted to join a cluster. As I remember, something on the order of half of them did. If their intended major was physical science, they would be scheduled in mathematics and English, say, together, so there would be the same people in two or three relatively small classes.

Each cluster had a faculty advisor. The advisors were given a small amount of money so they could take the students to tea or to lunch and were encouraged to have them to their homes if they lived nearby. The idea was to kind of artificially generate a group of people who would know each other.

About half of the students who went into the program--I've forgotten the exact numbers--thought it was one of the most important things that had happened to them in their undergraduate experience. The other half didn't think it mattered very much. These questionnaires were all the same. So about a quarter of the freshman class thought it was something pretty important. Well, I thought that was well worth doing, and it was very cheap. I thought Strawberry College would appeal, and I've had many people tell me they thought it was one of the great things when they were undergraduates. You have to keep working on building neighborhoods in a big place like this.

Mike [Ira Michael Heyman] was actually more ambitious in undergraduate education than I ever was, I think. I didn't think you could do too much, but these were some things I thought should be done. He actually had a vice chancellor assigned and various programs. I don't know how much difference it made; I don't know that it didn't. He went to Dartmouth, and he really thought maybe it could be turned into a collection of Dartmouths.

I think it was probably worth doing, although it is very difficult to institutionalize something like that in a place dominated by departments. One of the problems of Santa Cruz is that they never really decided between departments and colleges, and it's still very confused to this day.

At Stanford we used to experiment with enriching the residence programs, and they did some of that here, but again, that goes up and down. One thing I did do was put computer terminals in all the residence groups. That struck me as essential. I was sort of a computer buff myself.

Educational Ventures in Health and Medical Science

Bowker: The Health and Medical Science Program is an interesting one in a way. When I arrived here, there had been a group of people and some money collected with the notion that the East Bay hospitals could be used more for clinical training. I thought in principle it was possible to use the basic science at Berkeley and some of the clinical facilities in the East Bay to run a kind of practice-oriented medical training program. This turned out to be an extremely naive idea.

Another thing that had always interested me personally, I don't know quite why, but I had some interest in psychoanalysis. It had always seemed to me that the practice of psychiatry did not really need an M.D. as its basis, and that even with the increasing chemical nature of psychiatry it would be possible to train people essentially in psychoanalysis by having them take some anatomy, physiology, more pharmacology, and some science subjects that M.D.s take, but not go all the way to an M.D.

In addition to that, there were people around interested in genetics and the establishment of a professional degree in genetic counseling, which would be some combination of biology and the School of Public Health. It was possible to get state money for these ventures without competing with others; health sciences was budgeted separately. So I really put a fair amount of effort into developing these programs, most of which have been quite unsuccessful. [laughs]

Nathan: Were there faculty members who were interested, too?

Bowker: Yes. Oh, the faculty liked them. Don't forget, we still have physiology. I saw Paula Timiras the other day, and she was very interested. Bob Biller from public policy kind of ran the thing for a while. Lenny Duell was a psychoanalyst, but he was also interested. Yes, there were a lot of people interested.

Well, the M.D. thing got going, but the medical association and the accrediting group wouldn't have anything to do with it unless the medical school at San Francisco sponsored it, so we got them to sponsor it. Frank Sooy was a wonderful man, and he sort of did it for me, I think, because everybody over there thought the whole idea was crazy. It turned out that the students who came into it really were interested in getting into medical school. They weren't particularly interested in anything different, so it was just sort of a back door to UC San Francisco.

The psychiatry thing absolutely infuriated the profession. I got Bob Wallerstein. He had been the former president of the American Psychoanalytic Institute and was then head of psychiatry at Mt. Zion, later to be professor of psychiatry at our medical school, a position from which he has been ousted by the scientists, more or less. It may not be true, but that's the gossip. His wife Judy taught here.

Nathan: Yes, in social welfare.

Bowker: He agreed to help me with the mental health. We proposed a new degree, Doctor of Mental Health, and we were seeking accreditation. Well, we got some. Then the genetic counseling got going, and we got it funded from foundations and outside. But the psychiatry profession did us in. Herma Kay, who was head of the faculty senate here and a very good friend, is married to a professor of psychiatry over there. Every time I'd see her husband he'd go into a diatribe about this program: it's no good, the people are stupid, they couldn't get jobs, blah, blah, blah. Anyway, it failed.

I bumped into Wallerstein three or four years ago at the center at Stanford. He said, "If I'd known what I know now, I never would have done it."

Nathan: Some things are worth trying.

Bowker: I think the main thing about these things is that they were sort of inconsistent with Berkeley's mission. They were educational ventures.

Nathan: Educational ventures are inconsistent with Berkeley's mission?

Bowker: This is a research institution. When push comes to shove, what do you care if doctors are trained a little differently in one way or another? I'd say that psychiatric social work and clinical psychology are the main sources of therapists. I always thought these people would have a lot better training. However, it all failed. Well, the nutrition counseling may still be going on, and the M.D. track is still going on, I think, but it seemed to me, at least that it was conventional.

Nathan: These are pretty bold ventures.

Bowker: Yes, but they didn't succeed.

Fund-Raising

Bowker: The relationship between the University of California at Berkeley and Stanford is quite unusual, and it's been a friendly one for a long time, partly due, I think, to Wally Sterling and Clark Kerr, who developed a good relationship. It may have been before that; I don't have any knowledge. There was supposed to be, I gather, some kind of treaty that Berkeley would work mainly with its alumni, and Stanford would sort of have the first hit at the corporate and other philanthropic money, but I don't know; I never paid any attention to that, and I don't know whether anybody else did.

I do remember, when UCLA announced a big drive, the regents in southern California bitching about competition with a private institution [USC]. I thought it was pretty horrible, but I didn't pay much attention, nor did I ever ask the regents about my fund-raising activities. [laughter] I didn't pay much attention to them, either. Carter always said, "You don't have to worry about Berkeley; the regents don't have anything to do with it, but neither does anybody else as long as Al Bowker is in charge." [hearty laughter] He was a good friend. He's still alive; I saw him this summer.

I don't know whether there was a negative reaction to starting fund raising at Stanford. There might have been. Dick Lyman made some crack about it once or twice in public meetings, but I didn't pay any attention to him.

(Perhaps the loyalty oath thing would be better talked about in the Stanford segment rather than here.)

Issues: Psychiatry Clinic, Sexual Harassment, Faculty Union

Bowker: The psychiatry clinic was fun--no, it wasn't really fun, but it just seemed to me that psychiatry had gotten too expensive and too precious at Berkeley. It was dominated by analysts, some of whom were charging the University for professional trips and one thing and another. The Health Service was getting out of hand in terms of costs. I forgot exactly what the issue was, but I fired nine psychoanalysts. It gave me the greatest power feeling I ever had in my life. [laughter]

Nathan: They're not tenured faculty?

Bowker: No, they were local clinicians. I brought in Jim Brown as director of the Health Service, and I think he has done a very good job. I always supported him. The Counseling and Psychiatric Service is now under the supervision of a clinical psychologist, a woman, I think, who came from New York. I thought it was in very good shape when I left, but we just couldn't handle severe psychological problems.

Sexual harassment was a tough one. Mike [Heyman] really handled that; I didn't have much interest in it. I knew I had to do something. Charges were brought by a woman student.

Nathan: Mike Heyman was the vice chancellor at the time?

Bowker: Yes. He got a faculty member from the Law School at Davis, a woman, to handle it and make recommendations as to what to do, on the grounds that the student would be more apt to talk to a woman. We did suspend or do something to the faculty member. My recollection is that we docked him.

Nathan: He was suspended for a quarter, if I have the story right, and he was on sabbatical that quarter, so there was some question about what the net result was.

Bowker: It was toward the end of my regime. I remember being grandstanded by Gail Fullerton the same day we announced this penalty. She fired somebody for sexual harassment, and this penalty--you're right--didn't seem very severe. The department and the faculty were furious with me. Oh, I really got it.

Nathan: They were furious with you?

Bowker: Yes, for doing this. They didn't believe her story. The faculty establishment was very anti any punishment for this guy.

Nathan: That put you right in the middle.

Bowker: Sure. We slapped his wrists, as you say. We did something, anyway. We didn't get much credit for it. [laughs]

Nathan: In a case like this, did you work with the existing, say, academic senate committees, or would you name another faculty committee?

Bowker: I think we did it administratively, although we probably consulted a faculty committee. I don't really remember; Mike did it. I do know we had a woman lawyer from the Law School at Davis to essentially conduct the investigation and make recommendations to

us. We probably discussed it either with the privilege and tenure committee or the budget committee, but I don't remember which.

I did write to the faculty at one point, when Dave Feller and company were trying to get the faculty union going, recommending against it. They were sort of mad for a while.

Nathan: What was your thinking there? Why did you want to oppose the union?

Bowker: There had been no evidence in my view that faculty unions had done anybody any good. In fact, the papers this weekend have been full of the decline of the importance of unions. The faculty union in New York was put in for political reasons; it wasn't terribly grass rootsy, although there was more strength for it here. The arguments for the union are: to protect the rights of the faculty, and they're protected pretty well as it is; and that they'll be important politically; but unions have been negative politically. I can't see that anybody has any advantage. And you have the system of collective governance.

The people who have written favorably on faculty unionization--one of my protégés, Bob Birnbaum has written a book--say that if it is done right it sort of improves the morale of the campus, the consultation with faculty, and so forth. But Berkeley is pretty much run by the faculty as it is. In fact, a number of private institutions--maybe not all, but anyway a number of big ones--have been excluded from the National Labor Relations Board, the federal legislation, on the grounds that faculty are management. So it's only at public institutions, where there are state laws; whereas a private institution hopes for collective bargaining.

Nathan: Is a faculty union advocated as an alternative to the academic senate?

Bowker: No, they have them both ways.

Nathan: Would they give more voice, let's say, to the junior members of the faculty?

Bowker: Joseph Garbarino, who has written some on this subject and who is a labor man, believes that in the SUNY state university case it strengthened the organized administrators at the expense of the faculty, not in terms of power but money; it improved the salaries of librarians, registrars, and so forth as opposed to faculty. He's written an article to that effect. I was never terribly impressed by the article, but, still, it might be true.

There was no great advantage to the faculty that I could see. Santa Cruz did, I think, vote to organize. I don't know if it's done them any good. It would add a level of consultation. I wouldn't have predicted the precipitous decline of the union movement that has occurred, but I couldn't see what advantage a union would give the faculty. Suppose the faculty of Berkeley went on strike. Who would care? So what? So there's no weapon that they have. It's just another bureaucracy.

Relations with Faculty

Bowker: [looking at outline] Did I hold a professorial appointment? Yes, after I was appointed chancellor and before I came to the campus, the Statistics Department very graciously voted me to be a professor of statistics. When I left, the senior members, three of them, wrote me and asked me to return to the department, which I didn't particularly want to do.

Nathan: But it was rather a compliment.

Bowker: Also gracious.

Nathan: So you could have gone to the department if you had wanted to?

Bowker: Well, I could have anyway; I mean, I had the legal right to. But they would have made it easy.

Nathan: It is customary, isn't it, that chancellors do have a faculty appointment?

Bowker: Yes. It's a question of how it's done--whether it's done gracefully or not. Maybe Charlie Hitch had something to do with it, for all I know. They did it, anyway, gracefully, as far as I was concerned. I would have thought I had pretty good faculty relations in general. There is a question later [on the outline] about whether I ever interfered or went near anything I didn't know anything about.

Nathan: Did I ask a question like that?

Bowker: I absolutely did not ever vote or appear or do anything in terms of the Statistics Department. Once or twice I leaned on them; I didn't think they were computerizing fast enough. I think it's a mistake to meddle in your own discipline. Roger [Heyns] told me that he had gotten mixed up with the Psychology Department, and it

was a mistake. The Math Department at Berkeley is essentially ungovernable anyway, so I didn't want to get anywhere close to them.

Obviously Erich Lehmann, Joe Hodges, and David Blackwell were reasonably close personal friends. We had known the Blackwells long before coming to Berkeley, and I had known Erich and Joe as colleagues roughly my age when I was in Stanford, and I kept up a relationship with them--some.

Nathan: I wondered if strategically that would be where your main faculty support would be.

Bowker: I don't think so. I met with the faculty senate leadership every month, usually at the house and sometimes at the club [the Faculty Club]. I was very open with them. I think I had the advantage, in that with Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown as governors, they figured there were enough external enemies, and maybe we ought to stick together around the table.

Nathan: Get the wagons in a circle and keep them there?

Bowker: Oh, yes. That's what Ed Carter said I did: keep the wagons in a circle. [laughs] You know, I think I was a good chancellor for Berkeley in that period, so I don't have any apologies, but the faculty supported me. They bailed me out on the Platt thing; they bailed me out on other things. If they had been mad at me, they could have dumped me on that one. I would have had to go to the regents and say, "I want to appoint Tony Platt with tenure." I probably could have done it, but it would have been awkward. They didn't want to do it, and they might have turned him down. I would have had to resign, or we'd be in trouble with academic freedom cases or something. That would have been a big mess. It would have been very costly to the campus, to me and to the institution.

When I left, the faculty gave party after party for me. I didn't realize I was so popular. They gave me presents, some of which I still have.

Chancellor's Authority: Budgets and Appointments

Nathan: When you think of your position as chancellor, you clearly had power and authority. Where did it come from?

Bowker: Well, I had budgetary authority and appointment authority. That really was delegated by the regents. The president's office has some budgetary authority, but it's mainly in allocations between campuses.

Nathan: I was interested when you mentioned Nick Petris and the appropriations bill. Is that sort of a separate agreement other than what statewide negotiates with the legislature?

Bowker: Once in a while. [laughter]

Nathan: How did you manage that?

Bowker: It wasn't easy. Usually it was part of the budget that was in jeopardy that had been opposed by statewide. For example, we had something called the California Poll or something like that. It was the darling of the legislators. Essentially it was the data from the Field Poll that was deposited here to be analyzed, and then UC could get questions on it. University Hall kept cutting out the funding for it, and I said, "It's going to get funded. Why do you cut it out?" "Well, it's not high priority." So then I'd have to call somebody upstairs, and they would want to put it back in. I'd tell Charlie, "It's going to be in anyway. You're just being childish." It wasn't anything great in my young life; it was just that I thought it was a good idea. Berkeley asked for it, and it was going to be funded.

The funniest one was demography. After I abolished the Department of Demography, they cut \$75,000 out of the budget as a punitive measure, which is a sum so small it didn't matter. I called Nick: "You were at the conference. I wonder how it happened?" He said, "Well, it's kind of hard to explain, but in the budget things go on, everything is one second or two seconds at the final conference. The best friend of the guy across from me just died of skin cancer, and he thought it was dermatology."

Nathan: Oh, that's scary.

Bowker: Well, that's the way it goes. It wasn't the time to argue.

California Politics

Nathan: Is California politics worse than or different from that of New York state?

Bowker: Yes, it's quite different. It's kind of hard to explain. For one thing, all the leaders and people in New York are old men. You get Jerry Brown as governor, John Vasconcellos on Ways and Means-- all these kids look like adolescents to me here. It was very different in age. I remember talking to Bob Moretti when I first came here, who was speaker, a very nice man. I said, "I can't understand it. In New York Nelson Rockefeller wants the new freeway, and we want a new college or a new this or that, and it all works out." He said, "It doesn't work with this guy," talking about Reagan.

[Interview 2: September 4, 1991]##

Nathan: I did have one or two questions that arose out of what you were saying yesterday. You mentioned that you had consulted with your predecessor, Roger Heyns, about some issues on the campus. I wondered if he gave you any sense of the earlier history of the campus: the reorganization of the Academic Senate and some other issues that seemed to split members of the faculty from the administration. Did you get into any of that?

Bowker: I don't remember discussing that very much, no. I think I talked to him about the regents and the political situation. Obviously, coming into a situation where Ronald Reagan was governor and dominating the regents, one kind of question I had was whether the government was hostile to the point that it would be very difficult to run Berkeley. The answer was no, that he [Heyns] had attracted some hostility himself, really because of Alex Sherriffs and personal relationships. By the time I got here, Reagan had lost interest, really, in picking on the University.

I remember that I was giving a public lecture in New York, which is unusual for me, on politics and higher education and some of the things I had accomplished there. I was speaking to a fairly large group at Teachers College, and somebody came in and interrupted my speech, saying that Clark Kerr had just been removed as president of the University of California. So I said he [Reagan] was trying to turn the board of regents into a board of Reagans, which was widely quoted in the New York Times.
[laughter] However, he didn't seem to remember that, fortunately.

Nathan: Quips like that should not be lost.

Bowker: How bad was it? I'd gone over some of this, obviously, in some detail with Roger Heyns.. He strongly encouraged me to take the job, and said he had really enjoyed most of it. You've interviewed him, I guess?

Nathan: Yes, he did an oral history memoir with me, and it's very good.

Bowker: When I came in, Roger Heyns was head of the American Council on Education, or he went there from here. We went back and had dinner with them a couple of times in their house in Washington, and we always had them to dinner at least once or twice a year.

The first time the Heyns's came to the house for dinner, when they left Esther was crying. It was not because of our rudeness; there must have been some unhappy experiences there for them.

Nathan: They showed grace under pressure, but they had lots to deal with.

Bowker: She was obviously more emotional than he.

The Berkeley Fellows

Bowker: There's something called the Berkeley Fellows, which he started. I had meant to bring it up under alumni relations.

Nathan: This is as good a time as any.

Bowker: The Alumni Association had not been very supportive of the campus in the sixties, and many of the presidents of the Alumni Association, who were conservative businessmen--Bill Hudson, Wendell Witter, and so forth--didn't really defend the campus. In fact, they weren't very helpful, I gather; I wasn't around. I'd run into people in New York who'd say, "I went to Berkeley, but I wouldn't admit it."

Roger thought it would be useful to have a group of very distinguished Berkeley-related people, comprising people who had been helpful to the campus, mostly distinguished alumni, supporters, and friends. So the Berkeley Fellows was formed. It was, I believe, to have a hundred members.

Nathan: Oh, it was for the University's hundredth anniversary.

Bowker: That was it. We kept it at a hundred, but Michael [Heyman] increased the number to be the number of years. If the campus is

now one hundred and ten years old, there are one hundred and ten members. You can't be an active member of the faculty, but distinguished emeritus faculty, distinguished alumni, and some major donors to the University are included. It was a group of people that I enjoyed very much.

Nathan: You became a Berkeley Fellow.

Bowker: Yes. Well, you see, I'm not connected with the University. I guess the chancellor sort of entertains them. Mike isn't a Berkeley Fellow, for example, because he is still active, but he did entertain them. That was a very positive thing that Roger did. We had some senior political figures--Pat Brown was a member, for example--but mostly donors and alumni and very distinguished people. I maintained that membership, and that's the one thing I still go to. I come out in February for that dinner, which is an annual event. I enjoy it and have a lot of friends there.

Cultivating Berkeley Alumni

Bowker: At the same time, it seemed to me important that the Alumni Association be supportive of the campus in and of itself. There was a group of Young Turks in the Alumni Association, and Chris Markey had become president with that in mind and throwing out the old guard to some extent. Dick Erickson became a strong supporter and a good friend; it's kind of hard to know what his role was in these years. He was not a flaming liberal, to put it mildly, so he probably wasn't as helpful as he could have been, either.

However, beginning with Markey's term I went to every single meeting of the Alumni Council, all the years that I was here. I might have missed one or two, but almost never, including retreats. I just made that effort. I went to every one, and they really were often awful--long arguments about hundred dollar items in the budget and rather minor issues--but I just said that I was going to cultivate and have the Alumni Association. And they supported me all the way, every time. I never had any problem with them. I thought in general that it was time to try and get public support again for Berkeley, and the alumni are a large group. Although the Alumni Council represents only who is on it, it had an influence. It had a political influence, too.

Early on in my regime I was fairly friendly with and influential with the leadership of the Alumni Association. The

president after Markey was, I think, George Link. For some reason he had a longer term, maybe even four years. Then there was Earl Willens and then Forest Plant from Sacramento, very strong Berkeley-related people. Jack Rosston came in just as I was leaving and was succeeded by Bill Milliken, a very close friend. I really became very friendly with all of the leadership. One of the things that was not very satisfactory was that the organized fund raising was in the hands of the Alumni Association, and it was pretty pedestrian.

Separating the Fund-Raising Function

Nathan: Do you know how that happened to occur?

Bowker: I think nobody had ever done anything much, but they sort of did it for intercollegiate athletics and alumni scholarships. It seemed important--to others, actually first, and then to me--to separate fundraising from the Alumni Association. There was a fairly crucial meeting of four or five people, including a fellow named Bob Monahan, who had been an official of the University; E. Morris Cox; Pres Hotchkis, Sr., who came up from Los Angeles for the meeting (Pres, Jr., has just had a term as chairman of the foundation). Preston, Sr., was married to the daughter of the Bixby family, which had one of the big ranches of California. The Bixby Ranch was one of the big landholdings in California. Pres had come as a poor boy to Berkeley but married great wealth.

There may have been some other people there; and I think Erickson was. We decided to separate; it really was important to separate a fund-raising foundation from the Alumni Association and have a different board and a professional fund-raising staff. These were all people who were kind of givers and donors and fund raisers for various causes, museums and so forth. Morrie was to be or had been head of the California Academy of Sciences. It's also true that the Alumni Association board consisted mostly of people of modest means, kind of clubwomen or clubmen or activity types, not the heavy-hitter philanthropists.

So we moved to set up a board for the foundation. By then I think George Link was president of the Alumni Association. Colette Seiple was especially interested in the Alumni Association, and Erickson came over and worked for the foundation. He became secretary-treasurer but was really the operating head.

Nathan: Who chose the participants at this meeting? Were you involved in that?

Bowker: I certainly talked about it, but I think it was Morrie Cox and Monahan who really were pressuring me to do this.

Nathan: So the impulse came from them?

Bowker: Oh, yes. Well, sort of mixed. You see, I had never particularly wanted to do a lot of fund raising, and I didn't think I'd be very good at it. I had been in the administration at Stanford, and it seemed to me that Wallace Sterling led kind of a dog's life; he was always buttering up donors and meeting with them. Now, of course, he probably loved it. Once when I was up fighting with my board in New York, somebody called me up and asked me if I wanted to be considered for president of Brown University. I said, "Oh, I wouldn't think of it." They were so insulted. There's a funny story about that.

Nathan: Do tell me.

Bowker: I mentioned this to my staff, and they said, "Well, you really were terribly rude. What you should say is, 'That's very flattering. I'll think it over'." I mentioned this story to Dick Lyman, who while he was president of Stanford somehow was flirting with Dartmouth. I don't know why; it seemed like a dumb thing. When Charlie Hitch stepped down as president of the University of California, my phone began to ring one day: "Dick Lyman says that he is interested and would like to think it over." I had about three phone calls, though it was supposed to be a deadly secret.

Finally I called Dick, and I said, "What the hell is going on? There's one thing you can't do, and that's move from Stanford to be president of the University of California. It's just impossible." He said, "I'm just following your advice: 'That's very flattering. Give me a day to think it over'." I said, "You've thought long enough." [laughter] Ed Carter called me, somebody on the faculty called me, and it was all supposed to be a dead secret, you know. It was funny.

Be that as it may, two things were clear. Berkeley was really way behind in terms of fund raising, compared to other major public universities, including UCLA, but more particularly Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois. No one here had ever done it. I think Roger did try to do a little and would have been pretty good at it probably, but it just couldn't be done in those years.

So we started out with a foundation of people of substance and means who would be willing to give and to help solicit others. It was a board, and Dick Erickson was brought over. We really ran the fund raising from about \$2 million a year, mostly for intercollegiate athletics, up to about \$25 million a year. I had one or two very large gifts. Perhaps the largest one was from Steve Bechtel, Sr., for the Bechtel Engineering Library. Since I left, Michael [Heyman] has doubled or tripled that, and it's gone on and on. I don't know whether I could have done that or not. I don't know whether it can be sustained at that level, either. It will be interesting to see. He's more aggressive in fund raising. Anyway, I started that tradition, and most of the people that Mike used in the early years were people that I had involved in Berkeley: Morrie Cox, Gene Trefethen, Gene Shurtleff, and other people.

In a private university, a board takes on that responsibility. In a public university, particularly in a multi-campus university, you couldn't get the board to do that.

Nathan: You're thinking of the regents?

Bowker: Yes. Although the Moore family between them, including Joe, have always been reasonably generous to the University. Joe's sister is Jane Mock, and his brother is Jim Moore. They're a moneyed family, and nice people, too.

Gene Trefethen and Morrie Cox were the most successful fund raisers I had, and they helped me put it together. I think that was important. Some of the things we talk about I really don't think are very important; they're amusing to me in retrospect. But it really was important to start fund raising for Berkeley; it's meant a lot to the campus, and it meant a lot in my day because it gave me some flexible money. It gave me a couple of buildings--the Bechtel Library and an Optometry addition. It didn't solve the Biology problem, which was known to be a problem then, and one I handed over to Mike.

After Christensen left and went to Santa Cruz, Mike Heyman was my deputy, so it wasn't so much of a major transition in leadership, although he was really quite different in many ways. I had lunch with him yesterday. He knew about the fund raising and was well up on what I was doing.

Nathan: There was a very interesting comment in Mrs. Heard's memoir about her interest in working on a Chancellor's Circle. Do you recall how that got going?

Bowker: Winifred was probably a trustee in the foundation and obviously a moneyed person with philanthropic interests, much of which went to their museum in Arizona. She was generous, and I'm sure she was on the foundation board. She would have been the kind of person I reached out to.

We had this Robert Gordon Sproul Associates group, and toward the end of my regime it was decided that we ought to have a group of identified donors who were more substantial. Gene Trefethen and another fellow who had been at Bechtel put this together, and I didn't think it would go anywhere. The idea was that you would give \$50,000 in unrestricted money for the chancellor. It could be at the rate of some thousands a year--five or ten, I guess--or you would just give \$50,000; and a lot of people just gave \$50,000. We had something like thirty or forty members when we started the thing, and Winifred probably was one of them. That was money for me to play with, or to use.

That's gone on and on, as far as I can tell. I remember Wally Haas, who had given millions and millions, saying didn't I think he should be a member of the Chancellor's Circle. I said, "Yours are not unrestricted funds, Wally." [laughter] That was a little chintzy, wasn't it? But, anyway, that's the way it was.

Entertaining Donors and Important Visitors

Bowker: You really had to give unrestricted money for that.

Nathan: Separately from whatever else you had given?

Bowker: Yes. Many of these people had given plenty in other ways. When I first came here, we had the Sproul Associates every year for dinner at the house, and then we had two dinners, three dinners, and it just got out of hand--the donors of a thousand dollars or more. But the Chancellor's Circle, then, was a group that was entertained at the house, as the Berkeley Fellows were. We really ran a pretty toasty restaurant over there and were very popular as a place to go. Maybe it still is; I'm sure it is. It always was a lovely house, but we put a lot of effort into good food and good parties. I was always amazed that practically nobody ever said no to an invitation to University House. It may have been true at other places, too.

Nathan: When you put these parties together, did your wife help you?

Bowker: Some. She was very popular. Of course, she taught at Stanford. The person who really did an awful lot for her and for us was Lila Carmichael, who was her social secretary. Lila came from a very socially prominent Hawaiian family. They lived in Berkeley and were not people of great wealth. She herself knew society better than anyone else who was involved with us professionally before or since. We had a social secretary who was good at organizing things, but Lila really knew who was who, who was rich, who was related, who to sit with whom. She was very, very good at it and also helped plan the menus and so forth. We used Narsai David in the beginning, and then he trained our cooks. He got too expensive for us, but we always had very good cooks. Narsai was a Berkeley graduate in mathematics, so he was always helpful.

Nathan: It's nice to know that the locals helped out, too.

Bowker: Well, Narsai's restaurant is gone now, but he still has something to do with food. He helped us with some of the entertaining. I've been to a lot of university presidents' houses. Stanford was really pretty pedestrian compared to this, for example. We really did well, and they were good parties. I think people will say so.

To be invited to a group at the University House was something that people liked. They really did like it, and it was fun. Rose was very gracious and charming and very popular, but she didn't really organize the parties so much. The scheduling committee that I mentioned would often work on parties. For example, the Bechtels--Steve, Sr., and Laura--always came to the house when they were invited. Now, you would think, since they were the richest people in the world, that probably they'd have something else to do, but--. I think most people were afraid to invite them anywhere; they always seemed to be free. [laughs]

Nathan: Are you a sociable person at home?

Bowker: I suppose, although most people think I'm really shy. But people liked us and liked the parties; we were popular. Faculty would be invited. We had a lot of important foreign visitors in those years, and we would use those events to bring in some faculty and some people who would be interested. Prince Charles, I suppose, was the height of our social season. We had a reception and lunch for him. We could seat a hundred or a hundred twenty-five people in the basement at the house. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a Berkeley alum, and he came through. There were lots of people like that, and some heads of state.

I had gotten fairly friendly through a distinguished Berkeley alum with a famous Japanese prince, a cousin of Hirohito, whose

son came to Berkeley and lived with the Ericksons. I had him to the house one night--

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Bowker: Chalmers Johnson came over finally and said, "Don't you know who that is?" I said, "No, who is it?" "The butcher of Harbin." It turned out he had been in charge of the occupation of Harbin during the war. So I asked him about it, and he said yes, he'd been back to Harbin and so forth and so on. He entertained us in Tokyo some, and we had a good time. The fanciest dinner I ever went to in my life was at his ancestral mansion, which was a French villa. They'd also had a Japanese house. They had gold service, and I've never seen anything like it.

Nathan: Was this in Tokyo?

Bowker: Yes. He was a friend of Togosaki, who was a famous Berkeley alum in Tokyo who died out here at Rossmoor; he moved back to the States.

I just give you some flavor of what went on. We had the prime minister of India once for a reception. Indira Ghandi was out of office briefly, and this was an old man. We invited in a lot of people to meet him. I can't even remember his name now.

Those were the main people, but we'd have people from the Economist and other English papers. I would say there were two or three important foreign visitors a day at Berkeley, you know, a lot. There was an office that took care of them, so we could only entertain a very small number. Every now and then we'd kind of pick one at random and give a little party for them if we were free. This was the place to come in those years. People would want to see Sproul Plaza and all the radicals' things.

I made a specialty of Asia while I was here.

Nathan: Was there a reason why you focused on Asia?

Bowker: Partly because the Asian Studies here were probably better than anywhere in the country, or I thought they should be; and I think they are and were. Part of it was adventitious. A young man named John Jamieson was the person who had opened relations with China by escorting the ping-pong team around the United States. He's a faculty member here. We had an opportunity both to raise money in that area and to get really a leg up on most other institutions in terms of exchanges and agreements and travel in China. It was fun, actually.

There was some criticism. After I made two trips to Asia in one year, the faculty Christmas party featured a song called "Won't you Come Home, Al Bowker." [laughter] My senior advisors told me that people thought I was away too much. But that was funny, because I had gone for a meeting sponsored by the Luce Foundation of Asian Educators. I think it was in the Philippines. I went regularly to meetings of non-Communist educators, but then I went to China as soon as I got the chance, twice only, to be sure, but I organized several other trips for faculty and staff.

The reason I thought of it is because we'd often have important people here from the People's Republic of China, and once they were picketed by Berkeley Maoists. They were so charmed; they said they hadn't been picketed anywhere in the world except in Berkeley. This was after Mao died.

Actually, meeting opponents was true of Prince Charles, also: a group of Irish thugs started in on him as he left lunch. We thought so many people would like to see him, we published where he was going to walk across the campus and about what time. Some Irish thugs started in on him, and I was actually knocked down by the security people but not hurt. They just moved right in and surrounded him.

So we had a lot of important people coming through, and we tried to use each visit to build interest, to involve more than just visiting the top administration--faculty, alumni, and people who would be interested. One thing we did, that Garff Wilson did, who was always part of scheduling--he and Dick Hafner were involved with foreign visitors--was that if someone came to see me and afterward we went over to the Faculty Club for lunch, as we walked by the campanile they played the national anthem of whatever country it was. Really, people would have tears in their eyes.

Nathan: Lovely. You know, that explains the outbursts of music that I remember hearing at odd hours. How marvelous.

The Quality of Public Ceremonies

Bowker: I will say that the public ceremonies when I was chancellor here, and probably before and for a little while afterwards, were the best I've seen in any university in the country. This was due to Garff Wilson, who really was good at it. They really were fun and interesting. He's written a book on this subject.

Nathan: He did an oral history, too. He had a lot of nice feelings about you and your wife. Clearly, he loved to work with you.

Bowker: Oh, he was good. He asked me--and it's in his book--which was my favorite. I told him it was at the anniversary of the Greek Theatre, when we did a program there. Luciano Pavarotti sang, and we had the orchestra from the opera in San Francisco, directed by Kurt Herbert Adler. We couldn't afford a symphony orchestra or an opera. One of my memories of Berkeley was the opera Medea that they put on when Clark Kerr was inaugurated in the Greek Theatre. I just thought that was marvelous. We never could afford to put on an opera there while I was chancellor; it was just too expensive. Even this cost \$50,000 or something. But even though Patti Hearst had been kidnapped and there were all those problems, we approached the Hearst family, and they helped us with it.

Nathan: In earlier years there was always an opera performance in the Greek Theatre, a matinee each year.

Bowker: It costs thousands of dollars to do those things.

Nathan: It was wonderful.

Bowker: Yes, I remember Medea, although I'm not much of an opera fan.

Garff, in the midst of the Greek Theatre anniversary, had people walking down the middle of the aisle, people who had spoken there--Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson. I don't remember everybody, but lots of famous people. In the end, there was this woman with a great big parasol and bustle--Phoebe Apperson Hearst. [laughter] It absolutely brought down the house. It was marvelous. One of the Hearst grandchildren was there, and he said, "Oh, wonderful." He was so tickled.

Garff really was spectacular. Charter Day was always well done when he was doing it. The present chancellor's inauguration, in sharp contrast, was really a dud; it was as dull as dishwater and lacked graciousness. Many people--the president of Cal Tech and many college presidents--were invited to the ceremony. And that was it--no lunch, no reception.

Asian Studies

Nathan: You were speaking about your interest in China and entertaining the Japanese here. Was the talk about the Pacific Rim developing at that time?

Bowker: Yes. That was part of the intellectual activity. The Japanese government gave us a million dollars once when one of the prime ministers was visiting, and I raised money. I remember going to old Mr. Haas, saying, "I need money for a chair for Asian Studies."

Nathan: This is Walter Haas, Sr.?

Bowker: Yes. He said, "I have no interest in Asian Studies." I said, "I know, but I need the chair." "Well, I guess there's nothing like a free lunch," he said, and he gave it to me. [laughter]

Nathan: And you think you're not a good fund raiser?

Bowker: Well, it was set up by Morrie Cox, and Mr. Haas knew what was going to happen before we went to lunch, but he still gave me a little bit of a hard time.

I helped Scalapino, and I helped the various centers. It was an academic strength at Berkeley and one that needed money, and I thought the potential was there.

Appointing and Supporting Deans

Bowker: You have a question here [on the outline] on the good people in secondary positions, and that is something that I really was proud of here. I worked hard on the searches for deans. Of course, Budd Cheit was here and a reasonably natural choice to be dean of the Business School to succeed Dick Holton, but he had to be talked into it. Actually, I was interested in a couple of people outside also, one of whom almost took it and has been a successful dean at Dartmouth and NYU since.

Nathan: What sorts of arguments would you use to try to persuade someone to take a post like that?

Bowker: The question is whether he could really do a good job, and would the resources and backing be there; I would give him assurances

that I would support him. Budd has talked about it, and there really weren't any numbers involved, but every time he really had to have something, he says to me, it was forthcoming.

Ernie Kuh was also my choice. I don't remember him bargaining very hard, but he always got my support, and I would be even today a loyal supporter.

Nathan: What was his position?

Bowker: He was dean of Engineering. He was after George Maslach.

Bill Wheaton was here when I got here. If anything, I probably let him serve a little too long. I liked him.

Nathan: He was city and regional planning?

Bowker: Yes. Architecture, basically. Dick Bender was his replacement.

Sanford Kadish had been on the search committee and became a good friend. He was really the Law School's choice as well as mine. He was in London when he was appointed, and I called him and asked him if he'd be dean. He said, "Well, I told them yesterday I would take it." So what did I have to do with it?

I would say that Kuh, Cheit, and Bender were really personal appointments that I worked on; Kadish was someone I wanted, but he was also kind of brought in by consensus. Roderic Park emerged from the faculty as their choice, and I brought him in as provost and worked with him. William Bouwsma was never in my administration; he was in Roger's, went away, and came back. We were good friends. Loy Sammet I inherited and replaced, and I abolished that job in the reorganization.

Those are really all good people. I didn't fool much with department heads in Letters and Science. I talked some to Rod about the associate deans. In Letters and Science the department heads vary a lot in their importance, and I didn't get involved in that.

School of Education and Other Professional Schools

Bowker: I did get involved in those deanships, as well as some of the other professional schools. I remember Librarianship turned over while I was here. I don't think Journalism did. Social Welfare

may have, but I'm not sure; yes, it did, but that was sort of run by itself. Milton Chernin had been dean forever.

This is somewhat irrelevant; we were talking about the School of Education being sort of up for grabs when I came here.

Nathan: Had there been a faculty committee to evaluate it?

Bowker: No, the deanship was filled at exactly the same time I was appointed, by a committee chaired by Clark Kerr. I wasn't in any position to argue about it, so I approved it. The committee appointed Merle Borrowman, who was fair enough but injured himself, I think in a bicycle accident. He hit his head or something, so after a while he had to be removed, and we never did very well there for a long time.

Nathan: What was the issue with the School of Education? Did you get into all the details?

Bowker: I really thought the school ought to be abolished. It has to do with the nature of a professional school, and this is not a view I had early on in my life. In fact, at Stanford I was very active in building up the School of Education. I would guess that a Law School exists primarily to train lawyers, and a Medical School exists primarily to train doctors.

The School of Education, it seems to me, ought to exist primarily to train teachers. However, jumping to something I said yesterday, if you take a posh private university like Stanford, very few people are going to go and pay that tuition and then enter a low-paying profession like teaching. It's sort of less true at Berkeley, but it is sort of true.

The School of Education here, as well as there, considered their job to be research, the training of administrators, the training of scholars, the training of people who teach education in the state colleges. Now, it's true, I think, of most of these schools of applied social science--let's take Teachers College at Columbia as an example--that they were started by kind of famous people; Dewey's ideas were important, George Counts, the elder Thorndyke, interested in measurement and testing, people like the elder Terman at Stanford, although he was never involved in education, and the IQ tests, Stanford-Binet tests, and things like that.

There were a lot of original ideas, but then the schools began to be peopled mainly by the students of these people and then by their students' students. It didn't have enough

disciplines coming in from the social sciences, new people. I just thought what they did wasn't very important, and I still do.

Nathan: A lack of creative vitality?

Bowker: They do research, but when you sit back and say, "What has educational research done for education in this country?" not much. I think the policy research they do--this Jim Guthrie group called PACE [Policy Analysis for California Education] is pretty good, and I read some of their stuff. They have experts in school finance; he was one before he got into this. And there are people who teach early childhood education, but all told it seemed to me it would be a much healthier operation if it were a research institute on top of a really big teacher-training program, and that's really a state college function, not a University of California function.

So I had sort of gotten the School of Education on the skids by the time I was leaving, but Mike decided to keep it. Of course, Don Kennedy also began to give a lot of emphasis to working with the schools. The idea was that Berkeley and Stanford were going to save the schools. Mike was meeting with the superintendent, and then Bernie Gifford was made dean. I don't think it all amounted to very much, but, anyway, that's not my history.

Nathan: These are the issues that you were having to deal with.

Bowker: There's a long report that the Ford Foundation put out on education, and it studied a number of schools, including Stanford. It's a very funny report. It's had a strong influence on me, and it's been totally ignored--by the Ford Foundation, too; they were sorry they commissioned it.

Nathan: Do you remember the title of it?

Bowker: I have a copy of it somewhere.

Nathan: What did it say?

Bowker: It recommended abolition; it said the graduate schools of education didn't serve much function. They really weren't involved with the profession. It would be like a law school that studies about the law but doesn't ever practice law. And that was my feeling.

Nathan: Do you feel that a university should have departments that deal with the actual functioning or practice of a discipline? Is that a fair statement of your views?

Bowker: Only in the case of the professional school, I would say. A professional school ought to train professionals in its field, and that should be its primary function. Obviously, scholarship in the social sciences and the humanities is devoted in part to practitioners but largely to people who teach and are scholars, and that's fine. I'm talking about professional schools. The Journalism School trains journalists--or broadcast journalists increasingly; the Library School trains librarians; the School of Social Welfare trains social workers, I suppose, although it's kind of hard to know. I was never enthusiastic about that, but I never--. The reason I mention it is because I know you have some interest in this field.

Nathan: I know some very good social workers.

Bowker: With social workers it's a question of--I don't know; for a while I thought they were a little too psychologically oriented.

Nathan: The new dean kind of thinks that, too, I believe.

Accreditation

Bowker: I don't think it's very important, but I saw Sandy Elberg yesterday, and he said he remembered accreditation as one of his memories of my regime. When I was first here, in the first year or two, the national association which accredits schools of social work came to Berkeley and annoyed me. They had open hearings, listening to students and community people, and they went around and got a lot of gossip from what I suppose would be the Berkeley Left.

They came in with their final report to me and said they were going to give the school a provisional accreditation. The normal term was eight years.

The summary really irritated me, especially the way they went about it, so I said that in that case the school would be abolished, that I would not have a provisional school at Berkeley. I mean, Berkeley is a great university; we just don't have things that are provisional and not accredited, and if it is not accredited, it will be abolished.

Milton Chernin and Sandy came in, and they just couldn't believe me. I said, "That's it," [pounds table] "That's my decision." We got an eight-year accreditation in the end. That was a funny story, but it was really true, though. What a bunch of nuts. I've never thought much of accreditation anyway. I don't know, but they were mostly minorities complaining about the way the school handled minority problems. And there was something to it; it was not entirely unfair. At the time, I was faced with very tight resources, and I just said I wasn't going to fool around with building a lot of new faculty positions to satisfy this and that. The School of Social Welfare couldn't possibly afford to do it, so if it wasn't going to be accredited, we weren't going to have one. It was accredited.

Nathan: That is a marvelous story.

Bowker: I don't know how important it was. None of us have liked these professional accrediting groups--business, engineering; they're always a pain in the neck. MIT [Massachusetts Institute of Technology] isn't accredited, and Cal Tech isn't accredited. The big schools don't bother with it.

Nathan: That's interesting.

Bowker: There are two kinds of accreditation. There's something called WASC [Western Association of Schools and Colleges], and it accredits the whole institution. Everybody goes through that. A lot of my good friends have been active in it. Then there are these various professional accrediting groups, and a lot of people don't bother with those. Not all the business schools are accredited, but small public institutions want to be. In New York, CUNY would want to be accredited by everything in sight. If you're not accredited and you're not a famous school, then there's some status involved.

Intercollegiate Athletics

Bowker: The other thing that came up in my first year almost immediately, besides these matters of student behavior and discipline, was intercollegiate athletics. When I arrived, the campus had recruited a fairly well-known football player named Isaac Curtis, who was not eligible to play. Partly in fairness to him and partly because we thought we could explain his recruitment away as a special case, the coach recruited him.

Nathan: How did he get recruited?

Bowker: It was a very technical thing. He hadn't taken a test that you're supposed to take and get a certain grade-point average. He had a reasonably satisfactory high school record, but he hadn't satisfied everything. The coach and athletic director at that time was a fellow named Ray Willsey. I called him in, and I said, "I'm not very happy about this. But I'm new, and he's reasonably popular, so I don't think we should make a lot of changes. But I want to play clean; I just want to play by the rules. This was an irregularity; it happened, and we'll accept it. It's also partly the fault of the faculty athletic representative."

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Bowker: I said, "Tell me if there are any other problems that exist, and we'll decide what to do about them. You've been operating with certain understandings and with a certain faculty athletic representative, and I don't want to change it. I have no particular reason to be dissatisfied with you, but just tell me if there is anything else." Well, in about a month rumors began to reach me. People in the athletic department began to think about their own skins and began to tell stories. The place was ridden with corruption.

There were three football players who had identical transcripts from a community college; only the names were different. They were just absolutely phony. I called the president of the college, and I said, "What are you doing?" They were official transcripts. He said, "Oh, I'm just trying to help out."

I felt I had no alternative but to fire Willsey, which I then did. It was really quite an unpopular decision. He had a very distinguished alum who represented him who still doesn't really speak to me. So I didn't have either an athletic director or a football coach, and I hadn't done a lot of work on it. I appointed Bob Steidel as faculty athletic representative, and I said, "I want you to represent me and the campus." He was interested in athletics, but I wanted an honest representative. I picked up the track coach, Dave Maggard, and put him in as athletic director.

Nathan: Who would advise you on these matters?

Bowker: Bob Kerley was the main one. Advice--oh, there was plenty of that. Mike White was loose; Bill Walsh, the famous coach at Stanford, was leaving. Mike was assistant coach at Stanford. I

hired Mike as football coach quickly; that was before Stanford got its act together. That was a decision I made. He was fair. There weren't any overt scandals, but he wasn't squeaky clean, and I fired him after a few years. I rather liked him.

I didn't pay a lot of attention--well, you do, in a funny kind of a way, have to pay a lot of attention to athletics. For one thing, there's a game all the time, and I used to go to all the games and entertain at lunch before the game. Before the Big Game there was a joint luncheon meeting at my house or at Dick Lyman's of the UC board of regents and Stanford the board of trustees, those who cared to come. It was a very unifying event.

I went to the football games, and I went to many basketball games. There's also this PAC 8-PAC 10 group, and they meet all the time about something or other, with phone calls in between. Nothing much ever comes of it, though some people take it very seriously and put a lot of effort into it. I spent a lot of time on it, and a lot of alumni are really interested in athletics--Wally Haas. Walter Haas, Sr., sat with me always in my box, and he always brought his heart specialist with him. If we were losing, he would say, "Al, I'm going to have a heart attack and die." I said, "For heaven's sake; it's only a game. Stop acting like a sophomore; you're old enough to be grown up." [laughs]

Once I had Wally, Jr., in my box, and I invited the president of the university we were playing to sit with us. Every time his team did well, this guy would get up and cheer. Wally left; he said, "I can't stand it." [laughter]

Actually, I think the jocks sort of liked me, but they knew my heart really wasn't in it. But we had good parties and good fun. I had a long talk with Mike White. I said, "I kind of like you." But one thing he kept doing was to make commitments--they're called letters of intent, and he would issue them--to players before we had reviewed their entrance credentials. Somehow we never could get control of this, and I'd either have to repudiate him or overlook it. I'd say, "[bangs table] You've got to clear them with somebody first," and he'd say, "Oh, yes."

Then the next year he'd do the same thing. He just said he lived in a different world. He said it was actually a little better at Stanford: "I lived on the campus, and I was more part of the community. Here, I'm over in Walnut Creek or somewhere, and I never see anybody but alumni who want to win." When he was at Stanford he lived on the campus; he was assistant coach. He said, "I just have to win. The future of my assistant coaches

depends on how well I do. I just have to win, and I just have to do this. You've got to back me up."

I told Dave Maggard that whenever the chance came we had to make another change, because I really didn't trust Mike. We never knew it at the time, but afterwards people called me and complained that they had given him money for the players, and they didn't know what had happened to it after he left. I said, "Well, tough." I don't know how much hanky panky there was.

Nathan: Is this typical of university athletics?

Bowker: Yes, I'm afraid so. People would call me and say, "Boy, did you hear what USC [University of Southern California] did?" Or, "Did you hear what UCLA has offered this one?" You'd meet with these presidents, and either they're terrible liars or they don't know. It's just full of corruption of that sort. Michigan is a distinguished university, and it simply runs a major in Physical Education. Kids who aren't smart enough to take regular courses go into that. Berkeley has never done that. Stanford never flunks anybody in any subject.

Nathan: Is that right?

Bowker: Yes, they abolished the "F" during the sixties. Rose was chairman of the committee on academic progress once at Stanford, and it was called "the committee to bring back the 'D'." In other words, you don't flunk at Stanford. You don't have to graduate the student, but you don't flunk him at Stanford, period. At UCLA I don't know what they do. USC cheats all the time, or they used to; they may have changed now. Nobody ever caught Washington, but I just can't believe they don't cheat.

I think Steidel and Maggard were squeaky clean, and to the best of their ability they ran a clean program. On the other hand, we never did very well. [laughs] Mike White went to Illinois, and both Mike Heyman and I were called by the authorities in Illinois when Mike went there. I told them about my reservations, but he was hired anyway. I think he's ended up in the pros. I think he got in trouble at Illinois, but he took them to the Rose Bowl first, which he never did for me.

As he was leaving Berkeley, his daughter needed some help getting into Berkeley, and I did it. I liked Mike well enough. Of course, all of this happened under Roger's regime, and he claimed he knew nothing about it. You should know about it. As I told Willsey, I just wanted to know what there was.

We never did very well, and Mike Heyman thought he could do better, marginally, in basketball--not especially in football. I don't really follow it. The reason it's interesting is that the present chancellor thinks he is really going to do better. Mike also thought he could reform the system, and so did Dick Lyman, and they put a lot of effort into it.

Nathan: Policing it and having rules? How could you reform it?

Bowker: I think it could be done, but nobody wants to do it. The main thing you could do is to ask the players to waive their privacy so that one could actually see what the academic records of these players are. I was always told, after I refused somebody, that USC grabbed them. I never believed any of these stories necessarily. Some of them might have been true. Really important people would call me; Wally Haas would call me, and a lot of people would call me. I told them that was just the way it is. Actually, people didn't call me too much, because they knew where I stood on these things, but there was a certain amount of grumbling.

Nathan: Did this kind of focused interest in athletics have any consequence for bringing athletes into the University?

Bowker: Well, that's what I meant. We did have preferential admissions for athletes, but we did want to have some standards. As I said, Mike White would often issue letters of intent to people, which essentially meant that we were going to play them before they had been screened academically. And there are a lot of other things.

The problem with regulation was that it always made things worse, it seemed to me. For one thing, there was a limit in the number of scholarships. That sounds good, but then it turns out that if a student is admitted--a black boy from a poor family--and doesn't play too well his first year, then the Athletic Department wants to take him off scholarship. Well, that's really not right. I don't know whether we called them athletic scholarships or not, but I had to intervene there. Limiting the scholarships had pluses and minuses.

The rules that are involved in super policing are just very difficult. Even today, you go up to the Bohemian Grove, and in the summer there are there great big guys walking around as wine waiters. Everybody thinks it's a great thing; they're Berkeley football players. I don't know who does it. It's not illegal, as far as I know, to arrange summer jobs for these people, except that they don't know anything about wine, and their English isn't

very good. I don't think it's very good p.r. [laughs] I sort of pretend I know nothing about it, which is true. I don't quite see what that does for anybody.

I don't know what the answer to this is.

Nathan: Is there a financial issue about how much the football team brings in?

Bowker: The question that is a little hard to measure is--one theory is that donors love a good football team. I suppose at Notre Dame and some other places it's worthwhile, but at most institutions it's a terrible drain.

Nathan: It's a drain rather than a moneymaker?

Bowker: Yes. It is here, I think. You have to put student fees into it, and Dave Maggard had to raise money like mad. The cost of getting rid of it is significant. It has a big constituency. Dick Lyman and I talked once in a while about Stanford, and Berkeley would talk about pulling out of the PAC 8 and trying to get into the Ivy League. The Ivy League won't touch us unless we're much cleaner than we are, and Dick always said he couldn't afford it. When I say it's a moneymaker, football, in and of itself, probably pays for itself from the way the television revenues come in, because they are a split--like the Rose Bowl is split even-Steven--after the expenses of the home team. None of the other sports make money.

Nathan: Not basketball?

Bowker: At UCLA it may; here it's marginal. But even if it does, you've got crew, wrestling, and all kinds of things which I used to say are minor sports. But that's the wrong answer; they're non-revenue-producing sports. They're major. Then the women came along and demanded equal treatment.

Nathan: How do you feel about that?

Bowker: We did what we had to do. I guess it seemed to me that one of the least attractive parts of higher education was intercollegiate athletics, and if you were not in it, why would you force your way into it? But that wasn't a very popular opinion. The net result has been, of course, what one would predict: you have to do the same for men as you do for women, so the easiest thing is to do nothing for either. So all kinds of sports have been eliminated all over the country for men, because you can't have a tennis team for men if you don't have one for women. Well, tennis isn't very

expensive, like crew and others are. Actually, they put women on crews now--mixed crews.

I thought athletic scholarships for women were a mistake, but we had to have them for equity reasons. But you understand that I am a man of the older generation. Chuck Young used to go around making speeches on how enthusiastic he was about women's sports, and about how UCLA was going to do everything. Once at a chancellors' meeting we got together and awarded him the Order of the Golden Bra. [laughs]

But that's a big problem for Berkeley, and not one that I solved with any great satisfaction. It took a lot of time and was always kind of a problem. Then we'd meet with these college presidents. There was a wonderful guy who was the president of Washington State, and we discussed behavior in the stands. After we had been on that for an hour or two, he'd say, "Why don't we go on to something else that we can't do anything about," and then we'd talk about referees' errors and I don't know what all. You know it was big money here, especially in the Rose Bowl.

We had some dramatic meetings. USC decided that it wasn't going to stay in the PAC 8 if we wouldn't admit the University of Arizona and Arizona State. I don't know whether they were serious or not. I thought it was a reasonably good idea. For some reason people didn't know about USC's demand. We discussed it, it seemed to me, and Dick Lyman wasn't at the meeting when it was discussed, but Bob Rosenzweig was there representing him. Anyway, we came to the next meeting, and it was moved that we admit Arizona and Arizona State. Dick and somebody else--maybe somebody from Washington or Oregon--walked out of the room. They were furious. They said we were ruining their league. I don't know, I thought it had all been decided.

You know, if you play another one of these big football pro schools, you're going to lose all the time, but you'll make money if the games are popular. Dick was absolutely furious, and I don't know why. I went up and talked to him, and he was just boiling mad. I said I thought it had all been decided. Finally, after a few hours, he calmed down and we voted it in.

I don't have much interest in that, and I've never paid any attention to it since, except that I was at College Park [University of Maryland] and went in to see John Slaughter. I said, "John, you're not in control of athletics here, and you're just going to get in deep trouble. I don't know what it is, but if you don't control the athletic director, the coaches, and the faculty representative, then you're just making a big mistake."

He said, "Oh, don't worry. These are all good people." Of course, he's out, now, after the Lenny Bias scandal. He just wasn't in control at all. He didn't even know what the contract was with the basketball coach.

On the other hand, when Donna Shalala went to Wisconsin as the chancellor at Madison--she was president of Hunter College--she asked if I had some advice for her. I gave her two pieces of advice: "The graduate dean is important, very important, in Wisconsin; just remember he's probably more important than you are. Secondly, you can't trust anybody in athletics. Have your own people." About a year later I read in the New York Times an interview with Donna, saying, "I was told I couldn't trust people in athletics." The advice was good. She said she was going to win, and she lost a lot.

Those are things that are back in the early part of my regime.

Nathan: Are you in the mood to think about the Board of Educational Development at Berkeley?

Bowker: I didn't have a lot to do with that. That was probably started by Mark Christensen when he was vice chancellor. It sounds sort of like him.

Nathan: Was it your sense that there was an opportunity for innovation? Was that what they were seeking?

Bowker: Also to help faculty. Not so much innovation, but just improve their technical ability to teach, and materials. I don't remember much about it.

Role of the Dean of the Graduate Division

Nathan: I think you've already spoken about criteria for support and some of those aspects. You mentioned in giving your advice to Donna Shalala that the dean of the graduate division was a very important figure. During your tenure on the Berkeley campus, was there any tension between the professional schools and the graduate division? What was the relationship there?

Bowker: There's always a certain amount of tension. I don't really remember any big issues. Elberg himself came from a professional school; he was from the School of Public Health. He is considered

the protector of the basic values of Berkeley by a very large number of people, and I think probably correctly. No, I don't remember that, but it happens. I've given speeches on this subject. By and large the graduate division thinks it should control admissions, and the professional schools think they should control their own admissions, and I guess that's right.

The question is, what about the Ph.D. and engineering business, and Doctor of Social Welfare, Ed.D., etc.? There's usually a bureaucratic wrangle about that, but I don't know how important it is. Well, it has never been a big issue here. Elberg is not one to rock the boat particularly.

Nathan: That's interesting. In addition to the control over admissions, would that have anything to do with curriculum or requirements?

Bowker: Not really. The faculty senate has elaborate machinery for improving curriculum changes, and every now and then they pick on Extension. They're capable of picking on other people, but I don't remember them ever doing it. I never paid any attention to that whole side of the campus, sort of on the grounds that if you can't trust faculty on the curriculum, what can you trust them on? Now it turns out you probably can't trust them on that, either, with all the political correctness and what John Searle calls "the feel-good courses." Those were pushed by the administration, not the faculty. The faculty is pretty conservative here on academic grounds.

I don't remember that as being a big issue. Did Sandy think it was?

Nathan: I don't know whether you've read his oral history--.

Bowker: No, I haven't.

Nathan: It is really very fine and was finished recently. He interpreted something that someone said as, "Do we need a graduate division?" as though that was being questioned.

Bowker: There are two kinds of graduate deans, and the tradition at Berkeley is sort of mixed. Some of the graduate deans look upon themselves as graduate registrars. That means they do want to control admissions, financial aid, maybe get into curriculum matters, progress toward degree, and so forth. Sandy's predecessor was sort of that sort, and Sandy had a big portfolio.

On the other hand, there are other things: the creation of new graduate programs. I really gave Sandy the research

portfolio, so to the extent that Berkeley had a policy toward research grants, contracts, who was eligible to be principal investigator, rules and regulations, human subjects, animal subjects--I dumped all that on the graduate division. He was so-so at some of that stuff. He was more an academic than a lawyer and administrator, but they did it. He had a big staff, and they did it well enough.

When I was graduate dean at Stanford, I considered the research portfolio to be what interested me, and I didn't pay much attention to any of the rest of it. There is a graduate registrar, and that can get in the way of the bureaucracy and the professional schools. It's a problem, but it's a bureaucratic problem. There aren't any really basic issues involved.

Every now and then when the secretary who ran the graduate division at Stanford was mad at me or something would happen, she would put in a hanging jury on, say, a thesis in education, and they would turn it down. Then I'd have to do a lot of work to straighten that out, ruffle some feathers. I guess you turn down dissertations once in a while. It's pretty hard, though, after a faculty member and a student have worked for years on something, to say it's not acceptable.

Nathan: The committee is presumably fair?

Bowker: I don't remember that as a big issue here. It's sort of a bureaucratic issue with graduate deans.

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Nathan: Was there a certain amount of overlap in jurisdictions that gave rise to some of these tensions? Different people could claim some jurisdiction that overlapped with that of someone else? I was thinking of admissions.

Bowker: The graduate dean's academic responsibilities in most universities really applied to the Ph.D. degree, and therefore it was primarily involved with the College of Letters and Science. I tried to broaden Sandy's portfolio some, but I wouldn't instinctively have done it by giving him more registrar functions or more policy matters. He was pretty set in his ways when I came here; I said he was graduate dean in '63 when I left Stanford, so when I came back here in '71, he was still graduate dean and served all the way through my regime. Whatever he had to say is true, but he supported me thoroughly all the way. I never felt, ever, one hint of any disloyalty or lack of support, but he had his own ideas about life.

For example, I always thought we had too many things like-- oh, Bodega Bay [Bodega Marine Laboratory] always struck me as a boondoggle, and Sandy would never let me get rid of it. White Mountain Research Station was marginally useful, and there were a lot of little things like that: "We've always had them," and so forth. I went up to White Mountain about five years ago, and I don't know whether the ranger took in that I had something to do with Berkeley. She gave a long diatribe against the chancellor at Berkeley and how the chancellor at UCLA saw the importance of the White Mountain bristle cone pine collection. I didn't say anything.

Mike got rid of some of these things. I never succeeded in moving Sandy and Errol; they sort of ran things.

Nathan: Were you interested in more streamlining? Is that why you thought you'd like to spin off some of these areas?

Bowker: Just that they cost something, and they didn't seem to me to have much academic value.

Nathan: Were they advocated as research resources?

Bowker: Yes. There was some work in aquaculture at Davis, which is the artificial breeding of fish, raising fish for food in tanks. I thought that might be a good function for what went on up there. The White Mountain station had originally been involved with the faculty in physiology and other fields who wanted to study what happens to people at very high altitudes, but by the time I got here there were only a couple of people towards the end of their careers involved in that--Nello Pace, maybe, and a couple of others. I just thought that we didn't need them, but it wasn't a crusade of mine. Charlie Hitch loved the bristle cone pines; he thought they were the greatest thing in the world, so he would have been very unhappy to have the University pull out of that.

Nathan: It's very interesting, your view of who are the constituents of a particular idea. I'm sure you must have to take that into consideration.

Bowker: Charlie Hitch loved bristle cone pines. I don't remember why. They are fascinating. I never went up there when I was here, but I have since, and it is fascinating up there; the oldest living things in the world are up there on White Mountain.

Relations with Students

Nathan: Is there more you'd like to say about your relationships with the students? I think you touched on some different forums.

Bowker: I met with the student officers fairly regularly, and most of the student body presidents and vice presidents, and other people would feel I was reasonably responsive. Of course, you always want to be a little more friendly with the student leadership than the faculty constituency, so you always act as if, and you are, maybe, a little more pro-student. They are, after all, what you are here for. Student leaders, on the other hand, are not terribly representative of the student body.

When I left, five or six people who had been student body presidents said they wanted to give a party for me. I was kind of startled, because I had found some of them a problem. Finally I agreed, and they came to the house and gave me a present. Several said of them said that working with me had been the greatest experience in their lives. I was sort of touched by that. I've kept in touch a little bit with one of the student body presidents, although he's sort of disappeared recently.

Nathan: Your habit of listening very intently may have been important.

Bowker: Well, we got along all right, and Kerley was very good with them. We used to have interns who kind of worked with them. I didn't expect them to stand up for me, and they didn't ever, but they didn't dump on me, either. If there was a student uprising, they'd be like the Berkeley City Council, egging them on or standing by, but not leading.

They would, indeed, tell us if there was something big going to happen. They were co-opted to some extent. That was true in New York, too. I actually talked John Lindsay into putting a couple of students on the board, and they really were mine, sort of my votes if I needed them.

Nathan: When you were at Stanford, did you have occasion to get to meet students particularly?

Bowker: When I was a department chair, I had worked with all the doctoral students and my own doctoral students. Your own doctoral students are almost like your own children. You're very close to them, or you can be. I didn't have very many, and I am close to all of them and still see them and keep in touch with them. As graduate dean, I used to see some of the graduate students and bump into

them once in a while, and their stories of their relationship with me are very different from my recollection. I had a policy of trying to encourage people to get out of Stanford, so I would waive almost any requirement if someone's thesis was really done. A couple of people--faculty members at other institutions--told me how they as graduate students beat me over the head until I waived requirements.

Nathan: When you say "get out of Stanford," do you mean finish up and go out into the rest of the world?

Bowker: Yes. I'd waive the language requirement or waive this or that requirement. I remember I'd give them a scholarship for a quarter if they'd finish their thesis so they didn't have to teach, things like that. I did a certain amount of that on a personal basis. At Stanford, residence was defined as paying three years' tuition. If people had finished their degree without satisfying that particular requirement, I'd waive it. Sometimes people would continue on as TAs [teaching assistants] in order to pay off their tuition, and I tried to stop that.

But I didn't have much personal relationship that has continued with students. I wish I did, in some ways. I had a lot of fun with some of the students here, but I just have lost touch with them. Some of them write me once in a while.

Issues of Racial Discrimination

Nathan: This is interesting about your relationship with the students. There was a question about some of the discussions back in March of '72, when you started the open forums. Do you remember discussions about racial discrimination? Was that an issue that stuck in your mind?

Bowker: Well, I was always accused of it pretty continuously, I guess, by these certain radical students.

Nathan: Why was that?

Bowker: It just goes with the territory. The white radical students have always used Berkeley's insensitivity to minorities as one of their big points. Minority students have never been, for the most part, particularly active in pushing; it's been the white rads. I usually listened and ignored them. I think Berkeley had a good enough record. I put a lot of effort, largely unsuccessful, into

getting minorities into doctoral programs where there was a critical shortage. We spent a lot of money on that, as have other people. I didn't really think it was very important that Berkeley have more minorities as undergraduates.

I had just come from New York, where I had opened the whole university and really done a lot for minority undergraduates. The minority enrollment in New York had just blossomed, as well as the white enrollment under expansion. Here, it seemed to me, even if Berkeley were all black it wouldn't make much difference numerically, but that we could have a role in professional and graduate schools in training minorities. It's gone moderately well in the professional schools--law, business, others--and quite unsuccessfully in the doctoral program when I left. We put millions into it--I mean, a lot of money.

On faculty, ordinarily we would be more flexible with FTE if a minority faculty member were being recruited. We wouldn't waive standards; we'd be more forthcoming with FTE. Mike continued that. I remember once that Ernie Kuh, the dean of Engineering, managed to get a class with very few women and no minorities--and he'll deny this--and I really had to bawl him out. I said, "You've got to get some black kids in here."

He's very affirmative-action-minded now, but that was then. He's been radicalized a little bit. I had lunch with him about five years ago, and he said, "You know, there are only twenty of us here on the faculty at Berkeley." I said, "What do you mean 'us', Ernie, for heaven's sake?" That's what he meant. I guess it's true--and Ernie was the first Asian to have any serious post at the University of California.

Nathan: So did "us"--mean Asians?

Bowker: Yes. That's what it meant. Anyway, there are plenty of "us" now. [laughs]

Nathan: It must be sort of fun for you to sit back and see how things have developed over the years.

There was a question of students on the administrative committees.

Bowker: We put them on. They didn't show up very much, but it was a gesture that didn't do any harm. Most students are not really very interested in sustained work. Kerley was very good with students, and he also had a lot of interns. If a student really wanted to work on a committee, sometimes he'd put them on the

payroll, not as a member but as a staff support. That, I think, was helpful and useful. It is important, I think, to have the views of people of different ages, and I have always done that in my career. There aren't any people older than I am any more, but then I don't run anything any more. But when I was chancellor at New York, I had older people and younger people. I tried to keep an age distribution in my staff here, with less success, and there are reasons for that.

Credit for ROTC

Bowker: You mention [in the outline] ROTC [Reserve Officers Training Corps]. When I came here, the Berkeley faculty had voted not to give credit for ROTC courses, and the regents had voted to ignore that and to give credit for ROTC. One of my challenges was that I was told by the regents to straighten this out, which meant talk the faculty into giving credit. I somehow consulted some of the senior members and appointed a commission. Andy Jamieson was involved, and Bob Connick and other people. We went through some negotiation with the Defense Department, which resulted in what we could say was an upgrading of the caliber of the ROTC faculty assigned to the campus.

In the meantime, I found out that one of them had been pumping Regent Catherine Hearst up. She was always asking me very detailed questions. Finally she said, "Al, I might as well give you this," and she gave me a stack of letters this high [demonstrates] from one of the ROTC faculty about various outrages on campus. It really fried me, and with all the problems I had.

Nathan: Did that get resolved during your tenure?

Bowker: We finally had a mail vote of the faculty, and they voted to reestablish credit.

Nathan: But it was not compulsory to take ROTC?

Bowker: Oh, no. Then the ROTC people came around and asked me if I would reinstitute the chancellor's review of the troops every year. That had been abolished, and I didn't really want to, but I did. When I left, the ROTC people came and had some ceremony for me. I didn't realize it was going to happen, but some admiral flew out and gave me a medal. Once I said it was a medal of honor, and some navy man nearly hit the ceiling. Apparently you only get

that for military service, but this was distinguished civilian service. Anyway, I have a medal from the navy. For courage.

Nathan: Well, there was some courage involved.

Bowker: There was. There really was. Berkeley has had a very interesting ROTC. A lot of famous people have come through it.

Nathan: I gather you had no conviction one way or the other personally about it.

Bowker: It's a little hard to say. Going back to City College, at one time I looked at the ROTC there, and most of the people who had been important generals, some in the air force, who were Jewish had come through the City College ROTC. There was a little bit of that at Berkeley. For example, General Colin Powell is from City College ROTC. They've abolished it, naturally. I thought, by and large, it ought to be an opportunity open to students. It was a land-grant tradition. When I went to school, ROTC was compulsory, and although it isn't widely known, MIT is a land-grant institution. ROTC was compulsory, but it isn't now anywhere, as far as I know, except at a military school.

I was in favor of it, not for any hawkish or military reasons. It has been, particularly for minority people and for others, a means of entry. Berkeley really had a tradition of "poor boy makes good." When I was chancellor here, the student body was quite affluent; it would be comparable to Stanford's. So it was kind of hard to argue that these were underprivileged kids who needed this as an opportunity. But, anyway, that's where I was coming from. I thought it had been important.

One year (1975) I gave the alumnus of the year award to General Frederick Weyand, who was the chief of staff of the army, an ROTC graduate. I had him at the house to stay over. He's from an Oakland family. I asked him how he happened to be general of the army. It turned out that before World War II he was a member of the Berkeley police department, which used to be closely related to the University. Then he went into the service, and when he came back there were no vacancies in the Berkeley police department, so he stayed in the service and became general of the army.

There were quite a few distinguished people who came through Berkeley ROTC in the old days--generals in World War II.

Nathan: I see.

Craft-Workers' Strike

Nathan: There was an employees' strike in April of 1972. Do you remember that?

Bowker: Oh, indeed--craft workers. It wouldn't have taken much financially to settle that strike. I talked to the president of the University, and in fact I even called Ed Meese, and said there probably wasn't very much money involved.

Nathan: Why would you call Ed Meese?

Bowker: Because it was a political matter. The governor had just broken a couple of strikes of public employees, and they were just not [bangs on table] going to give in to the public employees. It might even have needed a little money. I might have called Verne Orr, who was budget director and told him it wouldn't have taken much to settle this, but the answer was no, that I had to break the strike. The regents, of course, all loved to act like big shots where the University was involved. That's a little unfair, but you see a lot of them give in to their own companies.

Anyway, I had to break the strike, and I didn't think it was worth it. But I did it. Some of the things that happened were kind of amusing. In the first place, I published the salaries of the craft workers, and many of them were making more than assistant professors. They were absolutely furious, so they published my salary in return. Then there was a big rally by the students, who decided to support the strikers, and I had to come to the rally; so I did. You see, these craft people were nice old men, for the most part, very staid and so forth. I remember there was one of these Berkeley women who came with a baby in her arms. She sat in the front row, opened her dress, and started nursing her baby. These old guys, the craft workers, were all blushing and so horrified. You know how blue collar workers would react to that kind of behavior.

After while a few faculty decided that they would support it. So John Kelley announced that he wasn't going to teach. I called him; he's an old friend, actually, from Stanford days. I said, "Kelley, why don't you keep your mouth shut?" "It's a matter of principle. I'm not going to come on the campus and cross a picket line." I said, "Then on a matter of principle, I'm going to dock your pay." He says, "I know that. That's okay." [laughs] If you're going to strike, you're going to suffer. Kelley's a funny man.

Nathan: Was he in math?

Bowker: Yes. I think he's married to Ying Lee Kelley at the present time, but he had another wife when I used to know him. He was a friend and wasn't going to make any problem for me.

Nathan: Were you obliged to respond to the students?

Bowker: I just said, "We're not going to give in." We just broke the strike. The only thing that bothered me was that I always had a policy--people don't realize that most public institutions don't spend all their money, whatever it is; every little dean or department head keeps a little bit for a rainy day. Toward the end of the year, all these little bits add up to a lot. I used to make Errol very nervous, but I'd say, "Estimate how much that's going to be, and overspend. Overspend, and it'll all come out all right." We were saving \$50,000 a day or something, and there was no way we could spend it, so we had to turn money back to the state. Oh, that hurt. [laughter] I said, "Errol, get that money spent," but he couldn't do it.

A lot of the discretionary money I used--it got obligated--and then at the end of the year all these little dribs and drabs would be unspent. So I would put it all back in my discretionary fund.

Petition for Nixon's Impeachment

Nathan: The next thing that comes to mind is the 1973 petition to demand the impeachment of Nixon.

Bowker: Oh, yes. The student body wanted to do it. I don't really remember whether we were demanding impeachment; I guess we were. First the students proposed several plans that I didn't approve, and finally I approved Bill Brock as a speaker. When they got him to speak, I said, "Okay, we can have the meeting." We got out there, and we did it.

Nathan: The demand came from the students?

Bowker: Oh, yes, from the ASUC. It wasn't anything I would have liked to have done. I actually tried to depoliticize the campus as much as possible. On the other hand, when a public figure came to speak on the campus to a student rally or something--a congressional candidate, for example--I asked the students, if they could, to

bring them by to say hello as a courtesy. I don't like to appear on the platform with candidates. Dr. Spock told me I was the only college president who had ever received him. [laughter] He was running for the presidency, I guess. He was very pleased. The others took it calmly. You know, it's a matter of courtesy. Still, you don't want the chancellor to be out there when there's a partisan rally.

Nathan: Those are interesting sidelights.

The Bakke Case

Nathan: I think you've already spoken of the decision on Criminology and the takeover of Haviland Hall in '74. We're coming to the end of a tape, so maybe I shouldn't ask you now about the Bakke case.

Bowker: I wasn't particularly heavily involved in the Bakke case. The president took it very seriously and was heavily involved. He felt that a lot of admissions policy at the University was at stake and that it was important in principle. The interesting thing to me was that the student body here were very ambivalent about it. Although the Daily Cal had been denouncing practically everything--

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Bowker: It didn't support the University's appeal of the Bakke decision on the grounds, I guess, of just sort of self interest. Radical foreign and domestic policy was one thing, but admission to medical school was a more serious matter. [laughs] They were in favor of settling the Vietnam war and other things. Of course, practically all the graduate professional schools and other schools in America were giving preference to minorities, so the question is why Davis got caught. Just by being, I always thought, too open, too explicit. The whole thing seemed to me unnecessary. All the other medical schools admitted minorities preferentially.

When the Supreme Court--I think Potter Stewart wrote the decision--made a decision, it was hard to tell what it said, it seemed to me: "on the one hand, and on the other hand." I thought it was much ado about nothing, and that they ought to get a new dean at Davis rather than make a federal case of it. But David Saxon really wanted to make a big issue of it, and I suppose it was an issue of principle.

Relations Between System Head and Campus Head

Bowker: The relationship between the head of a flagship campus and the head of a system has never been easy anywhere in the country. I think I was particularly sensitive to that because I had been chancellor [at CUNY, the chief campus officer is called the president, and the systemwide head is called the chancellor], the head of the system in New York, and I never got along very well with the president of City College. There I really thought it was a matter of his competence. The truth was that Brooklyn, City, Hunter, and Queens, the four older senior colleges, were really competitive. In the traditional role of City College having the best and the brightest Jewish students in New York, that had pretty much drifted away, mainly to Queens, by the time I got there. But City College still had this tradition of being the leaders and had the only the Engineering School and a few other professional schools.

But there, I think it was more a matter that the City College president himself wanted to be chancellor, expected to be, and wasn't. There it wasn't so much a matter of jurisdiction, maybe some. The other presidents, including some who were really extremely able, like Harry Gideonse at Brooklyn College, tended to support me.

Here it was partly the staff. Many of the staff at University Hall lived in Berkeley, and the rest seemed to be married to Berkeley staffers or faculty members. They all had opinions about everything. The general counsel didn't report to anybody, and he and a huge staff lived in Berkeley or around here.

Nathan: That would be the general counsel to the regents?

Bowker: Yes, it was. So there was an enormous number of people who were minding Berkeley's business. I used to hear gossip about University Hall. The University maintained Blake House for the president and University House for me. Then, in what I always thought was kind of a dumb move, they bought another fancy house for the vice president, so there were three people entertaining VIPs.

Nathan: Is that the house that William Fretter lived in, in Berkeley?

Bowker: Probably. Chester McCorkle was the first one who lived there. It always seemed to me in such a situation that you should pay the

deputies the same as you pay the college president, but you shouldn't give them housing and those perks.

Was there friction? Some, yes.

Nathan: You can tell me if this was important: I was thinking of the relationships among the president, the Berkeley chancellor, and Sacramento. There was a University lobbyist, of course, or there's a lobbyists' office in Sacramento.

Bowker: I tried not to go behind the president, and I think I discussed one or two little items when I did--maybe saving the medical program one year and saving the California Poll project once or twice. But I didn't do it very much, and I didn't enjoy it. I didn't like Sacramento; I didn't like the people there. John Vasconcellos was our chairman, and I could work with him, but I didn't like him. Senator Nicholas Petris I liked fine.

I didn't do very much of that; I didn't like to go to Sacramento, and I didn't think we did well in Sacramento, especially with Jerry Brown. We had a bunch of middle-aged, elderly, white males, and it was a fairly young and liberal state assembly. I used to send Mike Heyman; he used to enjoy it more. Now he's a middle-aged, white male, but he seems at ease with political figures. I stayed away from Sacramento as much as possible.

Most of the frictions were about silly little things. For example, Charter Day: Garff Wilson ran Charter Day, and once we didn't have a receiving line. Charlie Hitch was furious, so after that we had a receiving line. But I said, "If you really want a receiving line, why don't you call Garff Wilson and tell him? Charter Day isn't for you, and it isn't for me; it's for Garff Wilson." He grumbled.

Once Garff decided to issue tickets and limit attendance. Charlie said he was embarrassed, so we changed. It really couldn't matter very much. The staff would work him up: "You know, at Berkeley they're going to do this, and they're going to do that." I tried to talk to him about it. When David Saxon came in, who was a college classmate of mine, I said, "David, if I believe half the things I'm told about you, I think you ought to be institutionalized. Remember that, will you, about me?" The staffs were just sort of always sniping at each other, including social secretaries. It was all kind of petty, and it bothered Hitch some.

Nathan: I wonder whether any of this comes from the fact that Berkeley was the original and oldest campus?

Bowker: Oh, yes, the flagship campus. We didn't think we needed anything at University Hall, and we didn't much. Berkeley and UCLA have always been pretty self-sufficient. We didn't really even consider systemwide much of an asset. I will say this, though, that David Gardner has really gone and gotten money. For the first time, I think, people at Berkeley think the president has done them some good.

Nathan: I came across a note that he was the director for alumni fund raising in the sixties.

Bowker: For the Alumni Association. He was employed by the association as Field and Scholarship Director. He did work for the Alumni Association, but long before I was here. When I was here, for some reason he had been sent down to Santa Barbara to help cool things. Then he was vice president for Extension and Continuing Education, and he started the Extended University, which Berkeley played a role in. He was a creative person. He did a good job here. He never really had an academic job.

For example, little things would happen. When Mark Christensen was appointed to Santa Cruz, Nancy Hitch told H. E. (Mrs. Christensen), that she hoped she wouldn't work professionally the way Rose Bowker did. Of course, that immediately got back to us, and it seemed kind of a dumb thing to say, because in fact today practically every college president's wife works. To be frank, running a Section Club didn't really seem like a big deal to either one of us or very important, although maybe it was. I mean, Rose went to it and was well enough liked, but she of course didn't put in much time at it, and I guess her predecessors had.

On the other side, it seemed to me that a lot of the young women faculty would come and talk to her, and some who were teaching at Stanford carpooled with her. I thought on the whole it was kind of a good image.

Nathan: Yes, and it was the pattern of the future. She was really one who moved with the times

Bowker: So it was little stuff like that. Did it matter, all this business with the president? A little bit, I guess.

Nathan: I offer this to you to either take up or not, a possible explanation or guide if another chancellor wanted to see where the bear traps were: is this something you have to watch out for?

Bowker: You see, David Saxon really liked--like me--the academic and didn't care too much for a lot of the things he had to do. Once in a while he'd call me in great excitement about something, and I would say, "It's none of your business." [laughs] He'd laugh; he'd take it from me. But I wasn't that easygoing with Charlie, and Charlie isn't terribly easygoing. I think he did well as president. He appointed me. "How were you appointed?" I'd say, "Hitchcraft." But he was terribly formal.

For example, at the dinner parties on formal occasions, he would sit there and read, "Now is the time to toast our guest of honor, Mrs. So and So." Kind of like Reagan, you know, he never moves without a note. Oh, I was friendly with them. Nancy has died, and Charlie still lives here as a bachelor and bangs around some. I bumped into him in a restaurant the other night.

Nathan: I gather that your way of getting along was more or less on a personal basis, not so much on a structural division, although that must have been part of it.

Bowker: What issues would be jointly handled? When I first came, they decided to have the Lawrence Berkeley Lab report to the president rather than to the chancellor of the Berkeley campus. I thought it was probably a mistake, but it was done, *fait accompli*. Then when appointing the director of the Lawrence Lab came up, various people--Glenn Campbell, John Lawrence, and Edward Teller--had their candidates and not Charlie's. The vote was very close, so I had to go to work on the regents to support the president. I always did; I did what I was told or asked. I did that, and it wasn't all that brilliant a choice, but still it was better than letting those fellows get their way, I suppose.

That's the kind of thing that Dean Watkins would stand up for--it would come around to him, with Reagan probably voting against the University president--and say, "Well, our main job is to appoint the president of the University, and I think we either have to support him in his appointments or remove him. I am not prepared to remove him. I vote 'aye'."

Nathan: I see. I was wondering about the allocation of funds among the campuses. Does the president have responsibility there?

Bowker: Yes, but there never were any new funds to speak of. Once in a while they tried to do us in, and I would scream and yell and win.

The truth is that almost all the funds that came--there have been more under Governor George Deukmejian--were essentially cost of living increases and faculty salaries, and they were almost all formula-determined. The amount of discretionary money the president had wasn't very great. Now, he had reserves, and still does--big reserves--and every now and then you could go after one of those for a special project. Berkeley always had a richer funding than the other campuses as a result of more over-scale faculty and more distinguished professors, although UCLA was fast creeping up there.

If there had been a lot of discretionary money for new programs and other things, I might have fought more. But as it is, the few programs I started were in the health sciences, and I got that money without much enthusiasm from University Hall, but I got it, all the same, one way or another. So that wasn't an issue.

Once we had a big fight with Saxon about something (I can't remember what it was). We asked him to get rid of the vice presidents and talk to the chancellors as a whole. I was asked to do it, and so I did. We spent a couple of hours, and we were mad about something. It must have been some budgetary strategy, but I guess it passed.

Nathan: It's interesting how it looks in retrospect. You have mentioned a couple of times, I think, that you and Saxon had been classmates.

Bowker: Yes, at MIT. We weren't close friends, but we had known each other then. He got married in college, which was pretty unusual in those days. I used to see him. He was in physics and a friend of my roommate. When I became chancellor and he was vice chancellor at UCLA, I used to call him once in a while when I needed a kind of joint position with UCLA on issues. I found him easier to work with than Chuck Young, and besides I knew him. So I did talk to him.

Reflections on the University Presidency

Bowker: Then David Gardner came up. He was a vice president of the University under Charlie Hitch. When Charlie stepped down, actually, some of us were interested in Dave Gardner at that time. Frank Sooy and I talked to him, and he felt, I guess, that he just couldn't do it. I don't know what he felt. He was too junior, I guess; he couldn't come and hold his head up among all

these old guys. I don't know what turned him off then, something. After that I urged David Saxon to take the presidency, which he did.

I actually thought they might offer it to me, and I didn't want it. They didn't offer it to me, so I didn't have to face that, but I really didn't want it. I had had a systemwide job, and I liked the campus job better, and I didn't want to have to cope with a couple of things like the laboratories and other issues. I had told Charlie Hitch that if my name came up to withdraw it. But it wasn't necessary, he said. [laughs] It's just as well.

Nathan: So often people will refer to the "president" of the Berkeley campus. In the public mind, the chancellorship and the presidency are not clear. In a sense, it's like running a whole university when you're running this campus.

Bowker: There was plenty to do. [long pause] A lot depends on tradition. Things started here with Robert Gordon Sproul; well, it didn't start with Sproul, but my memory of Berkeley does. He was just the big figure in higher education and was a very successful president for the most part and very congenial with Earl Warren, who pumped a lot of money into the University when the state had it after World War II.

Then Sproul was replaced by Clark Kerr, who had been the architect of the expansion of the University into other branches and reasonably close to the Democratic establishment, mostly Pat Brown. I can't remember exactly when the transition was made. Then, of course, he was persona non grata to Reagan, who used the student violence and Clark's inability to handle it as the reason.

Probably half the regents who were on the board at the time of the transition from Brown to Reagan have given me their version of the firing of Clark Kerr, and they're not all the same. Many are Democrats, and some were appointed by Pat Brown. Mrs. Chandler--I once went to dinner with her, and she gave me her story. The gist of it was that they all thought that somebody who couldn't get along with the governor couldn't be a useful president of the University, period.

Nathan: Does that accord with your own thoughts?

Bowker: I didn't like it. I suppose it's true, but I don't think the governor should be dominant. I wouldn't like to see the leadership of the University turn over every time there's a new

governor. On the other hand, Clark was a partisan Democrat, and maybe he asked for it. He had been on the War Labor Board, and supported Democratic candidates, and he had been very buddy-buddy with Pat Brown. Now, I never have involved myself in partisan politics, period, and I'm not registered in a party. I've just kept away from that.

In New York, Governor Nelson Rockefeller was a Republican, Bob Wagner was a Democrat, and John Lindsay was a Republican. Those were the public figures I had to deal with. Actually, I had lunch with Lindsay on my way out the day he changed to become a Democrat. He came to a luncheon I gave for my successor just after he made that announcement. Of course, Rockefeller hated Lindsay, and he and Wagner were hand-in-glove; so you never know.

Anyway, I saw no reason why the head of the university should be identified politically, so I never was.

Nathan: That certainly accords with the statutes and in fact the constitutional provision for the University as being separate. You found your way by not being in one camp or another?

Bowker: That's always been my style. Obviously both Sproul and Clark did a lot for the University.

When I was talking to Pat Brown about it a couple of times, he has always said that he didn't do too much for Berkeley, but he did help start some of the other campuses with Clark. Did we talk here about "the million dollars"?

Nathan: No, tell me about "the million."

Bowker: Maybe five or six years ago Pat Brown gave Berkeley a million dollars. He came up to me and said, "Have you heard?" I said, "Terrific, Pat. I didn't even know you had a million dollars. I don't approve of rich politicians."

Nathan: You would have been nicer to him if you had known?

Bowker: Oh, no. He was always very friendly, and he came to every fund-raising event in southern California that he was invited to, and he spoke and ordered his people to support the University. We were quite friendly, really.

He said, "Well, considering the way I got it, I decided I had better give it away." It had to do with his firm having been counsel to the Indonesian government or oil industry or something,

and they decided that under Nixon they had to change law firms, so they made some very generous settlement with Pat, of which we got our share. I've forgotten the details of it, but it was something like that. I still see Pat every summer and at one dinner at Berkeley; we are good friends.

Nathan: When you come in the main library, it is the Bernice Layne Brown gallery--lots of marble.

Bowker: That's right. She went to Berkeley. She used to come around some. The family is all quite pleasant except for Jerry.

Nathan: People say to keep your eye on Kathleen.

Bowker: Yes, that's what they say.

Report: "Berkeley in a steady state"

Nathan: You had been chancellor for a couple of years in 1973. Do you remember that famous report to the regents, "Berkeley in a steady state"?

Bowker: Yes, I do. I described how we were managing under tight budgets. Errol Mauchlan and the whole staff worked on it. It sort of ended up with a plea for more capital, but it was mostly how we were doing. It was kind of politically charged. Reagan came and listened very intently, although you never know whether he ever hears anything. But he was there listening, and his staff was there.

Several people said they thought it was a very significant statement and document. It was about how one thing is done at the expense of another; we have to eliminate some programs. It went through a popular version of the renewal model, but it said that the biggest problem was the deterioration of the physical plant.

Money for Maintenance

Bowker: When I left, I spoke at Charter Day and said that was my greatest failure, that I had a "seedy-and-crummy" tour of the campus. On the way back someone had put a sign on one of the temporary buildings, "Stop one on the chancellor's seedy-and-crummy tour."

[laughter] I'm glad that Mike has been able to do better. I had a hard time getting rehabilitation money to keep the campus up to scratch. I had money for a couple of new buildings, but I wasn't getting enough. LSB [Life Sciences Building] was a disaster, and that's been solved now, so things are better.

But in any public institution, the maintenance, deferred maintenance, and upkeep of buildings is a problem--in any public building, all over the country. Curiously enough, the feds don't do too badly in Washington, but the State of California doesn't do too well. I mean, the state capitol was terrible when I saw it, even with Reagan, and Jerry never did anything much up there.

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Nathan: You were just saying that people don't like to give money for maintenance.

Bowker: I wouldn't. It is true, however, that we were able to get maintenance money in the sense of janitorial or basic maintenance for every new building that we were able to get private money for or any rehabilitation we were able to do. We did some; the state budget office was pretty good about that, but not any major remodeling of LSB or the chemistry building, some of the things that badly needed doing.

I was chairman of the board at International House, and I House was really never very well run while I was here. In fact, I started a big investigation into whether we should change the leadership, and in the end the board didn't want to. But I put in a fee structure and put aside quite a bit of money for deferred maintenance. We charged the same for every dormitory room, including some that had been given as gifts. At least there was a fund that could keep up the buildings, and we put I House more or less on that basis, but we still needed a lot of money for seismic corrections.

Finally I got Charlie Hitch to put up some of that money from the reserves. I House is now in pretty good shape, actually. There have been a few major gifts, a few nice rooms.

Nathan: Did people somehow feel that the Rockefellers were always going to support I House?

Bowker: Well, we went back to them. Rudy Peterson, who was another trustee of the UC Berkeley Foundation, and I went to see David Rockefeller, and he just said, "No." Maybe they gave a little money recently in one of the centennials, but basically we had to

do it ourselves. Willis Slusser, who was general counsel at Bechtel [Corporation] at one time, took over the fund raising for I House and gave quite a bit of money himself. With a combination of University money and private money we fixed the ceiling in one of the rooms. A big area had an elegant ceiling that had been covered over, so we dug that out. It's in pretty good shape now.

Nathan: I was wondering, when I read a little about the dramatic shutdown you did at CUNY over budget issues, whether you thought of doing it here?

Bowker: Well, we never did anything like that here. Berkeley was never in that much trouble. I used to argue that we ought to fire a few tenured faculty members or do something to dramatize our budget situation, but I never did get anywhere. Charlie didn't want to do it, and we didn't do it.

Issues of Government Regulation

Bowker: One thing I did have a lot of trouble with, all the time I was here, was government regulations. We haven't talked much about that. The worst one was affirmative action.

Nathan: Tell me why.

Bowker: People were dumping on us all the time, and people were trying to make an issue out of Berkeley. I think it had to do more with a kind of militancy of some of the women faculty members, HEW staff, and the general spirit of the times. Usually when we would go back to Washington we could calm things down. Year in and year out they were here complaining about this case or that case, or that we didn't have enough women on the faculty, or--

Nathan: The feds were doing this?

Bowker: Yes, usually the civil rights group in the Office of Education in HEW [Department of Health, Education, and Welfare]. We had to go back several times and talk to the top people. Once the Art Department ran a search and appointed a candidate. They also wanted the second person in that search, but they only had one line. Someone was retiring, so they put that person on a temporary line. When the position became available, they filled it. Well, it was clear that they hadn't done an affirmative action search, and they hadn't documented any of this, so it was

based on their word. The feds really threw the book at us. The penalty was that they would cancel government contracts.

There is something that used to be called the Naval Biological Lab. It was in Oakland. At one time it had been used for chemical warfare research and training, but after that it was given over to the School of Public Health here and was used for research on very dangerous diseases. It had one of the few collections of bubonic plague virus in the United States. It also had a great collection of mosquitos with sleeping sickness--encephalitis--and various other goodies like that.

The contract for renewal came up, and they cancelled it. We went back and talked to the general counsel of HEW, and he kind of calmed things down for a while, but it came up again. It turned out that the Department of Labor, however, had delegated this responsibility to HEW and had ultimate responsibility. I remember I went back and had a meeting with Labor Secretary Ray Marshall. I said, "What are we going to do with bubonic plague? I'm going to let loose all those mosquitos and kill everybody in the Bay Area." He says, "I hope not; I have children at Stanford." I mean, this was ridiculous. As I recall, we had to go to the White House to stop this.

Nathan: Were these affirmative action issues?

Bowker: Yes, because the Art Department hadn't done an affirmative action search, so the penalty was cancelling government contracts, and this was the next contract that came up. Mike and I went back several times just to argue, and finally there was some accommodation. You know, the University of California has about 15 percent of government research money in the United States, and there really isn't any way to cancel it. What are you going to do, cancel Livermore because the Art Department didn't do something? The penalty didn't fit the crime. I'm not sure of this, but I think in this case Mike finally called Clark Clifford in the White House to calm it down, and a way was found out of it.

Once we got in something else, and I remember Charlie Hitch called Cap [Caspar] Weinberger, who was then secretary of HEW, to help us out. We'd get in these situations, and our record was just as good as anybody's in hiring women. We were just always under the gun.

Then we had OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Agency], we had the handicapped. We had to make all our buildings accessible for the handicapped. Actually, Berkeley had a pretty good record for physically handicapped students; it had been a specialty of

the house. We were beginning to mainstream them and move them out of Cowell Hospital and put them in less institutional housing. We put a lot of money into that and some into access. We couldn't, with any conceivable sum of money, give handicapped access to all the buildings on campus in any finite amount of time. We were always in violation of whatever regulation there was. [laughs]

Nathan: How did you think that compared with the treatment of other universities?

Bowker: It was sort of similar, but Berkeley had a worse time. San Francisco is a nice place for investigators to visit. What I had proposed at one time was, "Okay, let's try and make Berkeley do what it does with physically handicapped. Blind students go to Davis, and other handicapped students go here or there, specialize." We were not allowed to do that, so if a blind student came to Berkeley, we had to provide readers and support services. In the end we had to divert money that we were using for the physically handicapped into helping other people. We never really did a very good job of it, because it's terribly expensive.

Then there were regulations on human subjects and animals. I sort of ignored the animal thing, and it came to a head later. I tried to ignore it. What was I going to do? There wasn't any money to comply with any of these rules and regulations. There never was. We made a big show of complying, but we were continually being investigated by somebody or other.

Marshall, the Secretary of Labor, was a Ph.D. of Clark Kerr's. I thought he ought to have some sense. He didn't seem to. They sent people out to investigate a complaint of somebody who was an assistant professor who claimed he was doing the same work as a full professor and getting paid less, and he should have equal pay for equal work. Maslach had the brilliant idea: the answer was seniority. They understood that, and they went away. We said, "Full professors have seniority." [laughter] One thing after another. It was really bananas. It may be true of our society as a whole that it's over regulated. That was a side of Berkeley that was very unpleasant.

Once they decided in some lawsuit that they had to have the faculty hiring files in the History Department. They were subpoenaed, and they [history] said they wouldn't give them up. I said, "What would you do if I came over and seized them?" Anyway, there was a big flap about that. Everybody was denouncing me, but I went before the faculty senate and said, "It's the law of the land. These records have been subpoenaed. I'll try to protect

their privacy, but I can only do the best I can." So we Xeroxed them and sent them to Washington. We said the agency could come and look at them but couldn't take them or something.

It went on and on and on. I think probably it was that more than anything else that kind of tired me out at Berkeley--this endless nitpicking on purely administrative, regulatory sorts of issues. There really wasn't any way we could comply with almost all of these things.

I think we did a good job on hiring women faculty members. We did the best we could and better than many universities. I did the best I could. Of course, we had rooms full of people producing huge statistical analyses that were sent back to Washington. I didn't realize until I got there later than no one ever looked at them. The Department of Education has rooms full of data that no one has ever looked at. Well, there wasn't any way you could read all this junk. [laughs]

That was sort of a downside of the chancellor's job, and I don't know whether that's gotten any better or not. Mike's a lawyer; he didn't mind it as much. I found the whole subject annoying and distasteful and boring.

Coming back to people, I think I had a very good group in California Hall. Mike was my deputy, and Rod Park and George Maslach, Errol Mauchlan, Sandy Elberg, Glenn Grant, my secretary, Janet Starkey. It was a good working group. Lila Carmichael at the house, and a personal staff also included--as I said, Dick Hafner and Dick Erickson.

I don't know if there's much else that I have to say.

City of Berkeley and Local Issues

Nathan: Would you like to talk about your relationships with the City of Berkeley and the Bay Area people? Did you feel it was part of your job as chancellor to maintain these kinds of relationships?

Bowker: Yes, I had to get along reasonably well with the City of Berkeley. I had people in the office whose job it was to attend the city council meetings of Berkeley or Oakland and tell me what was going on and what would affect us. We did try to work with the city on certain joint projects. I don't remember that much ever came of it.

One of the projects I was very much interested in was the school for the blind and the deaf.

Nathan: Why were you especially interested in that?

Bowker: It just seemed to me the only conceivable use of it was for University Housing. The Reagan people wanted to sell it to a developer, and we managed somehow to stall that or delay it until Jerry Brown got into office. Not that it was sensible to sell it to a developer, because no developer will build in Berkeley nowadays with the way the city behaves toward new development--rent control and all of that. It just seemed to me that because housing was getting more and more expensive in this area, we were going to need that for faculty and student housing mainly. There wasn't anything else, really, to do with it. We never pulled it off while I was here, but eventually it had to be done. There wasn't anything else to do with it.

The neighbors were all screaming and yelling, but as soon as the place was deserted it would fill up with bums and hobos, and they'd be much better off with University housing. But they couldn't see that. Now they're reasonably happy with it, I think. A little noise, but--.

Nathan: The combination of some student and some elderly housing seems to be a rather pleasant arrangement.

Bowker: Well, I don't know if there was any real elderly housing there. They were talking about it.

Nathan: I see people waiting for the bus, so I assume that they are residents.

Bowker: Sandy Elberg lives there.

Nathan: Does he like it?

Bowker: Yes, he likes it.

Nathan: But you were not involved in calling it unsuitable for the school for the blind?

Bowker: No, that was done before I came here. I think it was quite suitable for the school. I went to see them, and they were kind of old, conservative, WASPy administrators. They were horrified by what was going on at Berkeley and wanted to move.

Nathan: Was that it? Wasn't the question of seismic safety raised?

Bowker: Seismic safety can be corrected. A lot of work had to be done on those buildings. The question was whether to do it there or move to another site. I think they wanted to move. I think some of them are sorry. I have heard criticisms of the new locations. One is that if handicapped persons learn to get around in Berkeley, they can get around most anywhere; they moved into flat land, which is atypical. I don't know that for sure; I've just heard that.

Nathan: A lot of the kids from that school went to Berkeley High School, and the Berkeley High kids learned to be helpful.

Bowker: Yes, I think it was a good thing, but that was all settled long before I came, and the future of it was still unsettled when I left, although it was clear there wasn't any alternative.

Nathan: Yes, you were on the board of trustees of the Bay Area Council?

Bowker: I don't remember much about that.

Regional Association of East Bay Colleges and Universities

Bowker: One thing I did start and did enjoy was something called the Regional Association of East Bay Colleges and Universities; it was called RAEBCUE. It was essentially the presidents of all the colleges in the East Bay. We met once a month at the different colleges. It was kept up by Mike. We had some projects that we put forth jointly; the Bay Area Writing Project was one, which was mostly Berkeley. We made it a RAEBCU project. Jack Schuster ran that for me for a while before he left to go to Claremont College.

I had been head of a system that had community colleges in it with more or less state colleges, and I really kind of missed the contact with that and was interested in that level of education. Bob Wert of Mills College was an old friend. I became friendly with Ellis McCune of Hayward State and Tom Fryer, who was then head of Peralta Community College. They were helpful to me in some ways. The community college guys were more politically involved than I was, so sometimes I could get them to talk to assemblymen. But we also talked about articulation.

Mills College was always in trouble, and I set up an exchange program with Mills so that students from here could take courses there, and students from there could take courses here; of course,

it was mostly this way. The Graduate Theological Union was also in that, and I really very much increased the cooperation with the Graduate Theological Union so that those students could take courses on the Berkeley campus if they wanted to. None of these things were big, but they were important symbolically. I was sort of proud of that organization. It was a unifying one for this region, and it was useful.

Nathan: You mentioned that magic word, articulation, between the University and the community colleges. Is that something that could be worked out so that people could transfer as juniors?

Bowker: Some issues were resolved. I think we were more interested in working together. The Bay Area Writing Project essentially was to try and get some standards of English in the high schools, not by dictating them but by working jointly with high school teachers and bringing them in for workshops and so forth. It was something we were all interested in. Articulation we did have in engineering and a few fields, but Berkeley really isn't too interested in transfer students.

Nathan: That Bay Area Writing Project was fine; Jo Miles was very much interested in it, wasn't she?

Bowker: Yes, she was involved in it; we made it a joint project with the high schools.

Nathan: I gather you like to bring people together.

Bowker: I've always liked a bunch of presidents, and I still keep in touch with those people. Bob Wert just died. He and I were friends from Stanford days, so we were always very friendly with the Werts and with the McCunes. I still see Ellis every summer.

Berkeley had never paid much attention, frankly, to these other places, so it was appreciated and reciprocated, I thought.

Nathan: I can see how helpful that would be.

Bowker: The Bay Area Council I don't remember much about, so I didn't play much of a role in it. You consciously limit your outside activities, not enough, some people thought. I tried to do things that were different, and I never did get involved heavily in national educational associations. In fact, Roger, who was then head of the American Council on Education, asked me to go on the board, and I said I would rather wait a year or two and do it later after I had Berkeley under my belt. By that time he was gone, and I never had to do it. [laughs]

Nathan: You don't sound too sad about that.

A Variety of Posts

Bowker: No. I was a trustee of MIT when I came here, and I enjoyed that. I was a trustee of Bennington College; the president was a friend of mine. That was different, and I enjoyed that. I was a trustee at the University of Haifa as I left New York, and I went over there every other year or every year for the trustee meetings and was quite active in Haifa affairs. Those gave me a view of other institutions.

Then I did different things. I served on the Drug Abuse Council (1972-1979), which was a foundation-sponsored kind of VIP group that was put together to bring heroin maintenance into the United States, though we decided it wasn't a very good idea at the time. It was kind of a government in exile during the Nixon administration. [laughs] There weren't many educators on it. Bill Hewlett was the other California member.

I went on the Sloan Commission on Government and Higher Education, which Ed Carter and Carla Hills were on. It didn't amount to much in the end. But the Drug Abuse Council did quite a lot; it was important. It helped sponsor marijuana legislation and a lot of good research.

I tried to do different things, most of them are higher-education oriented. I did try to keep active with a little traveling in Asia.

Nathan: Besides your two trips to China?

Bowker: There were two trips to China, but then I went every year to a conference of Asian educators, which gave me a chance to visit Japan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Korea, and the Philippines.

Nathan: Was it fun?

Bowker: It was sort of fun. Henry Luce's sister, Mrs. [Elizabeth Luce] Moore--who was a great buddy of Winifred Heard, by the way--used to come. It was the Luce Foundation that sponsored the conferences of Asian and American educators. They were fairly serious.

Nathan: Did you do this partly to extend Berkeley's reach?

Bowker: Partly, yes. Partly I was asked to do it. It was a good group of people. We had Edwin Reischauer with us one year; Henry Rosovsky was with us another year. We had really important people. They were other college presidents mostly. We also did some sightseeing.

Beth Moore is still alive and active. I haven't been able to talk her into any more junkets. She and Henry Luce were actually born in China. Their father had founded Peking University. I bumped into her once in China and had a great time. She was with a group of right-wing Republican women when we were over there once, and they had no idea who she was. The woman who runs the restaurant up near Sacramento, the Nut Tree, is very active in politics, and she had organized this group. I forgot her name.

Beth came out here once and thought it would be fun to meet Ellie Heller, then the chairman (not the chairwoman) of the regents.

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Bowker: Mrs. Moore was chairman of the board of the State University of New York for many years and probably was then, Ellie was chairman of the Board of Regents, and Bob Brown was chairman of the trustees at Stanford. Ellie gave a lunch and invited me and Dick Lyman. The reason I remember it is that I decided to wear a Mao suit that I had bought in China. I suddenly showed up there in a Mao suit, and Ellie and Bob Brown didn't quite know what to make of it, but Mrs. Luce was absolutely charmed. Every time I see her she mentions it. [laughter] Ellie liked it, too; she was a good sport.

This is kind of minor stuff--social stuff, travel.

Nathan: It is interesting.

Chancellor's Priorities

Nathan: We might get into something larger, if you like. You might say a word about what you wanted to accomplish as chancellor and your sense of what the outcomes were.

Bowker: As I have said, when I came to Berkeley, the campus was in some disarray. The faculty had voted under extreme pressure to start a School of Third World Studies with no intention of ever doing it,

I suppose. There wasn't any clear indication as to how it was to be done. Admissions were soft and on the borderline of filling the freshman class. A lot of people were still looking at Berkeley with some fury because of the student unrest and excesses and so forth.

I guess my first priority was to try and maintain the academic excellence at Berkeley and secondly to try and restore respect for this campus. I used to say, "Get Berkeley the respect it deserves." The academic management at Berkeley has been quite good. I spent a fair amount of time, though, on helping recruit that handful of distinguished professors we tried to recruit, meeting competition for good people, reviewing faculty credentials, working with the faculty, listening, trying to keep up the standards.

On the other side, I went around and met with the press, met with alumni groups all over the state, and just tried to normalize things through all of these networks--the alumni network and the foundation network, putting our best foot forward, and some in Sacramento. I was pleased, on the whole. There's no question that Berkeley the last time around--in the early eighties when I left, when one looked at the quality of American research universities--was still right at the top in spite of everything. In terms of student popularity, admissions became really competitive. I really started private fund raising. There was growth in the Alumni Association and support for the University, which had eroded during the sixties.

Now, I didn't have a great impact on Berkeley, really. I wasn't quite a caretaker, but I was something closer to a nourisher and supporter, and I circled the wagons and kept the Philistines at bay. [laughter] I think I did that. It was very different from anything else I've ever done. I've always been, as we'll see as we go to other parts of my career, a builder, an innovator of new programs, changing things. But there at Berkeley I wasn't, so it was quite different.

I felt I had done a good job. I was tired of it. Also, my senior staff was kind of restless. Mike Heyman, I guess, was about ready for a college presidency, and he would have left if he hadn't gotten a crack at Berkeley; he probably would have been president of his alma mater, Dartmouth (he's now chairman of the board) or Stonybrook or something.

So I was faced with putting together a new administrative team. Rod would probably have gone or else would have been deputy. My administrative team was getting kind of restless. I

just thought it was time for me to move on, but I really thought I had done a good job at Berkeley. I came away with a feeling of satisfaction and enormous affection from the faculty, the students, the alumni, the foundation. My God, the parties and support that I got on the way out. As I often said, if I had known I was so popular, I wouldn't have left.

Nathan: I have heard comments that you were the right man at the right time.

Bowker: I think so, but it would be hard to tell that because it was very different from anything else I had ever done. I did try to start a few programs, and there were a few things I tried to cut out, but the bulk of Berkeley I supported and tried to enrich and support the way it was. And I guess I did that. At least I felt that I had done it well.

Nathan: Were there any continuing issues that you would warn other chancellors about, suggest that perhaps they watch out for?

Bowker: The maintenance and the size of the physical plant and its rehabilitation is a continuing problem, and even after all the fund raising that's been true. The campus is stretched very thin for space, and there isn't, I gather, enough money to really build a business school and build something to house what's in Cowell Hospital and some of these others that are really scratching around right now. I think it's important not to get over committed on the physical plant.

Student Costs and Academic Levels

Nathan: How about the growth in both the undergraduate and graduate student population? Is there an optimum size?

Bowker: Yes, I don't see any reason to grow. One thing I should have mentioned, now that I think about it, when I was talking about budget matters, is that the University had a formula that was to give more money for doctoral students, some for master's students, some for undergraduates, and there may have been even another level.

Reagan scrapped all that and simply funded the University on a per-student basis, faculty-student ratio. It was the same no matter what mix you had. While I was here the academic market softened, and some of the departments, particularly in the

humanities, were getting worried about placing all of their students. The gist of it is that if you really look at the enrollment, by cutting back on some of the professional schools and by cutting back on some of the doctoral students, it would reduce the graduate enrollment by about a thousand, and you would replace them with undergraduates, keeping the funding the same, because it didn't matter which kind you had.

Charlie Hitch and some of the others wanted to negotiate a new funding formula, but John Perkins, who was vice president, and I and a few of the old-timers said, "Let's not. Whatever funding we get out of Reagan isn't going to be worth having, and Jerry Brown ain't going to be any better." We didn't know that at the time, but he wasn't. So we just kept this. I don't know what they do now. The health sciences had a different formula, and you could get money for them.

So one of the ways I was able to keep Berkeley afloat was to replace students who were expensive to train, by students who were cheaper to train.

Nathan: The higher up you go, the more expensive it is?

Bowker: Oh, yes. Nobody ever knew I was doing that, or nobody really noticed it very much, but it was important in our fiscal management.

Nathan: Did you ever give thought to giving a little more attention to the undergraduates--that is, smaller groups.

Bowker: Not much. I mentioned the freshman cluster program and Strawberry College, but beyond that, no. On the other hand, the popularity of the campus grew reasonably. We did, in fact, when Santa Cruz was in trouble, make an agreement with them that they would revise their first two years a little bit, and we would guarantee transfer. They did that. They were having trouble because they were a sort of a touchy-feely college, and when that became unpopular, their enrollment began to go down. It's gone up again now; now everybody's full. That turned out to be better for Santa Cruz than for Berkeley. I mean, it didn't hurt Berkeley, but in the end a lot of the kids who went there stayed there, so they were happy with the arrangement. But people who applied to Berkeley were sent to Santa Cruz with a guarantee of automatic transfer once we got popular again toward the end of my regime.

Nathan: Would they transfer as juniors?

Bowker: Yes, but they didn't, a lot of them, and that was fine with Santa Cruz. So we were trying to help out in that way. I think Mike may have some special arrangements with community colleges, but I wasn't involved with them.

Some Personal Friendships

Bowker: I was happy with my years at Berkeley, and I particularly enjoyed the friendships I made in the community, in the alumni, and Bohemian Club and places like that, where I have close friends. I didn't make a lot of new friends on campus. It's tough when you're the chief officer to be too friendly with people.

Nathan: You have to make some hard decisions?

Bowker: And you don't want to be influenced by personal ties any more than necessary, so I didn't make many new friends. I have more personal friends among my old colleagues at Stanford, where I was an assistant and associate professor, than I do at Berkeley.

Nathan: These were in slightly easier circumstances, I would imagine.

Bowker: Also we were all kind of new, out from the East, and were a natural community.

Nathan: As this is transcribed and you see it, other things might come to mind. I see that you were friendly with C. P. Snow.

Bowker: That was actually while I was at Stanford. C. P. Snow and Pamela came to Berkeley, and he was, I guess, a Regents Professor. I had been a great fan of his.

Nathan: Yes, those books of the two cultures?

Bowker: Mostly the novels. The two cultures were all right. I wrote to him and said I would like to meet him. He was here at Berkeley, and he didn't like Berkeley. He told me he'd never understood it. I had him down to Stanford two or three times, and we had a good time. He was then thinking of writing a novel on the politics of getting the Nobel prize, so we introduced him to all the Nobel laureates at Stanford. I still remember Bob Hofstadter, a Nobel laureate in physics, saying, "Oh, you wouldn't be interested in that; it's all politics." [laughter]

We got to know her, Pamela, a little bit. She was teaching at Mills some while she was here. She's written a very amusing book about a subsequent visit they made to Wesleyan in Connecticut, called Night and Silence: Who was There? She said how much she enjoyed teaching at Mills, "a charming little girls' college. Too bad it doesn't exist any more." This was about ten or fifteen years ago. I sent it to Bob Wert, naturally. [laughs]

II LIFE AFTER BERKELEY (1980 ON)

Nathan: For this new segment, we could go back to your early life, or we could go on to life after Berkeley, whichever sounds best to you.

Bowker: We might as well go forward. The University of Massachusetts tried hard to recruit me as president, but I didn't see any point in it. When I left here I was actually thinking of retiring, but probably I would work somewhere else for a while.

Assistant Secretary for Post-Secondary Education, U.S. Department of Education (1980-1981)

Bowker: I became Assistant Secretary of Education under Shirley Hofstetler. I didn't enjoy that very much; I was there such a short period of time.

Nathan: What was that experience like?

Bowker: I had a whole bunch of responsibilities. The main function of the Department of Education in higher education has been in student aid, so I said I became the largest loan collector in the United States. But it wasn't very interesting, and it wasn't very well done; still isn't. I tried to push programs in international education, and I had all the programs for the minority colleges--black college programs. I inherited a staff that was so-so. I had a few good assistants, and I brought in a few good people, but I really wasn't there long enough to be very happy with it.

Shirley Hofstetler was a lawyer, and she was used to getting her own way. I got along with her all right. She would call up

or the secretary would call and say, "The Secretary would like to see you in an hour." I'd say, "Well, I'm busy." No one ever said that, and I would usually give in and go over. But I said, "You really ought to schedule things." "Well, [harumph, bluster]." The secretary had been Al Haig's secretary. I don't know how Shirley got her, but she was really a tiger.

They had done a very bad job with Congress on the re-authorization of the higher ed bill. The Carter administration was kind of unraveling. It was pretty clear when I went there that he wasn't going to go anywhere. I don't think it was crystal clear, but he wasn't paying much attention to this department. I tried to orient it toward the university world and somewhat away from political and social issues.

Shirley was a great enthusiast for bilingual education. She had actually been a judge in Lau vs. the Board of Education, or heard the appeal or something. There wasn't any evidence that it was doing anybody any good. In fact, several congressmen came in to Shirley and said, "You lost the election for us with that bilingual nonsense." They were pretty mad. She's an able, effective woman, not too experienced in education.

The department had been put together kind of hastily and sloppily. It had too many assistant secretaries; every special interest had been given one. We had one for non-public education, who had no real function. We had one for the handicapped. We had two in my general area; there was an assistant secretary for research and development as well as for higher ed, and we had research libraries in the National Center for Education Statistics, in which I had actually been moderately active. I probably had fifty people and many, many millions, but I didn't have a chance to make much of an impact on it. I kind of said I would stay on and help in the transition--I was acting secretary for a few days between--but people in the White House apparently vetoed that. I don't think Reagan ever knew anything about it. People I have talked to since said they didn't really even know who I was or that I had had any connection with Reagan.

So I left; not left, I was fired when the new administration came in. I didn't want to stay as assistant secretary, but I told the new secretary I would help for a while, and I didn't.

University of Maryland, College Park (1981-1986)

Bowker: Then I went out to the University of Maryland at College Park as dean of the School of Public Affairs (1981-1984). I was recruited to start a school from scratch, which was a lot of fun, actually, something like the School of Public Policy at Berkeley. It was quite similar in size and scope. I enjoyed that. I recruited new faculty; I had one person from Maryland. I started a new program, a new Master's degree. I came and visited all the programs, including the one here, the Kennedy School at Harvard; the Woodrow Wilson School; the Johnson School; the school at Minnesota, the Humphrey School; the School of Carnegie-Mellon. There were a bunch of them.

I started that school, and it's really one of the best in the country now.

Nathan: Was that around '82?

Bowker: I think we may have opened in '82. I left here in '80.

Nathan: And you were at the federal department for a while.

Bowker: Until January, '81, probably. I was at Maryland for about five years, so I think I probably went there in March or April of '81. I took another look at the University of Massachusetts and decided it was even less for me then than it had been before, though I'm sure they would have appointed me.

After I had been at Maryland for about three years, the school was up and running (Frank Levy, who had been here in this school, was a member of that faculty). They were very, very good. It was fun to start new faculty from the beginning, some political scientists, some economists, some policy people. The president of the University of Maryland asked me to come and work as acting vice president for the year, and so I did that. I was the executive vice president of the University of Maryland for about two years (1984-1986), either acting or in title. I decided I didn't like it and that he wasn't doing a particularly good job. [laughs] We had kind of a parting of the ways.

Additional Posts

Bowker: I have since then been a professor at the City University of New York, vice president of the Research Foundation (1986), and involved in various activities in executive searching or in policy development with the board of the City University or the Board of Education. This time Bob Wagner, Jr., is the chairman of the board. Of course, I had been very friendly with the Wagners through the years. In fact, he used to come around the house some when he was a student and I was in New York. We lived not very far from Gracie Mansion. So we knew Bob, and we knew Duncan, his brother, who visited us here at Berkeley. We kept in touch with him, and he had asked me to help out.

I chaired the search committee for superintendent of schools twice in New York, once when we appointed Richard Green and once when we appointed Joseph Fernandez. I was more or less responsible for Ann Reynolds' move from here to there to head the City University.

Nathan: Did you know Ann Reynolds when she was in California?

Bowker: Oh, sure. We looked into her record here pretty thoroughly and thought she got kind of a bad deal from the press. Be that as it may, she's there now. And I've helped with three or four presidents. I've tried to work between the university and the school system some. The CUNY Research Foundation, of which I'm vice president, is essentially the administrative agency for research contracts and grants for the whole city college system. Although none of the individual campuses are very big operators-- maybe some run \$20 to \$30 million a year--in toto the system runs to \$100 or \$150 million in grants and contracts. However, that is more or less an advisory role; I did not have line responsibilities there.

Nathan: You consult when they are writing up the grant proposals?

Bowker: Oh, not too much. I looked at some and made suggestions more about new funding opportunities. I sat on that board and on a couple of other administrative boards in New York.

In terms of my duties, I did a long analysis of terms of office and conditions of hiring of presidents. There are nineteen or twenty presidents in the city university system. So personnel activities in terms of senior officers, vice presidents, presidents, superintendent of schools was mostly what I did--help

advise on them; not everything, but on a number of them. I did a lot of searching for them.

Nathan: When you do the searching, does it involve their record and meeting them?

Bowker: Usually, yes. In the case of the superintendent of schools, what you really do is look at the successful urban superintendents around the country, and that's not a very long list. [laughs] It's often hard to get people interested; most people aren't interested in the job. In the case of the university presidency, people are nominated and apply. There's a certain amount of screening that goes on. I attend all the interviews and presided over the ones when I was chairman. It's a lot of work; both of those searches were a lot of work. It involves checking and finding out things, visiting people on their home ground or seeing that they are visited; I don't do all the visiting myself.

Nathan: Do you find that you enjoy that?

Bowker: Yes, I enjoyed that. In the case of Ann Reynolds, since she was so controversial, I sent the board out to nose around. They talked to the governor, and the speaker, and members of her board, and other educators.

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Nathan: The press reports were one thing; and perhaps the facts were something else involving her and the budgetary decisions?

Bowker: Salary, yes. Her board approved of salaries, and they're much less than those people in the University of California got, but they got into some political troubles, partly because the chairman of her board had misrepresented her own credentials. She had said she had an associate in arts degree from a community college, which she didn't have. When the L.A. [Los Angeles] Times went after her, she said it didn't really matter. The reason she was made chairman of the board was because her husband was a major contributor to Governor George Deukmejian's campaigns. People said, "How can this dumb woman pay everybody all these high salaries?" Then she said she didn't approve the salaries and didn't know anything about them, all of which was a lie.

Nathan: Do you think Ann Reynolds is doing a good job?

Bowker: Yes, I do. Not everyone at the University of California liked her. She was always sort of edging in on their turf. I think she's good. I have lunch with her scheduled for a couple of days

this month. I think I will not continue to work in New York. For one thing, I'm nearly seventy-two--Sunday, I guess.

Nathan: Happy birthday.

Bowker: Thank you. I think it's probably time for me to retire or at least--

Nathan: Maybe pick and choose what you want to do?

Bowker: At the moment I'm president of the Cosmos Club of Washington, which is actually quite a distinguished club and something of an honor. You've probably never heard of it.

Nathan: I have, yes.

Bowker: That's going to keep me very busy this year. There's quite a lot to do there. After this year, then I'll be seventy-three, and I really should retire. [laughs] Stop all this.

Nathan: What's magic about seventy-three?

Bowker: I don't know. I'm getting too old to work.

Nathan: You can still come out for the Berkeley Fellows dinner?

Bowker: I always have every year since I left; this is the eleventh year. So, yes, I'll be out in February. But that's just a one-week trip. My children are all out here, so I visit them. They'll give a party for me Sunday, and then we'll go home Monday. I usually don't stay for my birthday. I did for my seventieth, when we had a party here in Berkeley. Really because of this [interview] I stayed over a week; I wanted to get this started and maybe done.

Work on the Washington, D.C., Center

Bowker: I've had a good, interesting time since I left. The University has given me an office in Washington in the building they own there, so I have a small office. Theoretically I'm sort of involved in helping this Washington Center get going, but it doesn't seem to be going very fast.

Nathan: What is the Washington Center?

Bowker: The University of California has a committee planning a center which would contain a number of internship programs which are now run by UCLA, Davis, and I think Santa Barbara. These are formal academic programs. The Washington Center will have a think tank; it will be an all-University presence; it will contain the Washington office; it will contain space for visiting faculty-- office space or perhaps some residence space. There's a fairly detailed plan about this [demonstrates] thick, but they kicked it around so long we got into a financial crisis before the thing was built.

Nathan: Would this be primarily political science, journalism--?

Bowker: Yes, although some people could work at the Smithsonian in art history or at the Library of Congress. There are a couple of programs that would be similar, one run by Stanford and one run by Cornell, but I don't really think I'm going to live long enough to see this thing get going.

I don't know about these things here [referring to a list].

Some Honors and Activities

Nathan: We can append this list; there are so many activities and honors.

Bowker: The honors that I have that really mean something are half a dozen honorary degrees. I'll send those to you. The presidency of the Institute of Mathematical Statistics and the presidency of the American Statistical Association [ASA] came on early in my career in the sixties. I'll send you a better list. For example, in 1965 it says, "Institute of Mathematical Statistics." I was president of that.

Nathan: I see I have you listed wrongly as treasurer. I'd be glad to have your own list.

Bowker: I can send you a better biography. The Phi Beta Kappa thing is sort of amusing. I was never a member of Phi Beta Kappa, because MIT doesn't have it. Mrs. Bowker wasn't, either. So when I was appointed chancellor at Berkeley they had a special meeting, and we were elected and so forth, along with Earl Warren, who was still alive. I said I wasn't a member because MIT didn't have it, and Wilson College, where Mrs. Bowker went, never had it. Then Earl Warren got up and said he was very pleased to get it, too,

but there was one difference between him and Chancellor and Mrs. Bowker; they deserve it and he doesn't. [laughter]

Nathan: That was gracious of him.

Bowker: Oh, a very nice man. He died shortly thereafter, actually. He must have been a wonderful man. I never knew him. Mike Heyman was very, very fond of him.

So the Phi Beta Kappa was part of my Berkeley chapter. Of course, Sandy Elberg had me elected. [laughs] He runs Phi Beta Kappa here.



Albert H. Bowker in high school, 1937.



Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker, Albert H. Bowker, Paul Caroline, and Nancy Bowker.
Inauguration at City University of New York, 1964.

Photograph by Conrad Waldinger



"Freshman aghast at the fox-trot;" Rosedith and Albert Bowker at the Chancellor's Freshman Reception, 1979.

Photograph c 1979 Jim Yudelson



Clark Kerr, Glenn T. Seaborg, Edward W. Strong, Roger W. Heyns, Albert H. Bowker, and Ira Michael Heyman, 1981.



Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker, Albert H. Bowker, Therese Thau Heyman, and Ira Michael Heyman, 1985.



Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker and Albert H. Bowker, 1990.

III FAMILY AND EARLY YEARS

Boyhood in New England

[Interview 3: September 5, 1991]//

Nathan: Perhaps we could start with your very early years and something about your family.

Bowker: I was born in a small town in Massachusetts, Winchendon. My parents were really living at the time in Washington, D.C., where my father was already working at the Bureau of Standards. However, my mother and father were both born in the same small town, a village called Baldwinville, adjacent to Winchendon, which was the metropolis that had a hospital. But we had a summer home on a lake in Winchenden, and she had gone home to be with her mother, I guess, during the end of her pregnancy and the birth.

I did spend all my summers as a child either in the lake or in the town and have a lot of memories of it. Both of my grandfathers--my mother's father I never knew--had been from very old New England families going back before the Revolution. Both of my grandmothers had come to this country from Canada, were immigrants, more or less. I never knew my father's mother, but his father was alive, and my mother's mother was very close to the family and in fact lived with us part of the time and was in charge of me most of the summers when I was old enough to be away from my family. So I spent part of the summers with her, and then the family would join us.

I don't know how much it influenced my career, but it gave me a sense of small town culture, a town in which, if you walked up and down the main street, you would know who lived in every house. Most of them were relatives or distant relatives, and it had a kind of quality of Thornton Wilder's "Our Town," in a sense.

There was a cemetery on the hill with a view of Mt. Monadnock, very similar to Grover's Corners. Although there was a touch of Peyton Place. [laughs] You knew everything about everybody.

My grandmother had been one of nine. My father had not come from a big family, but it did have a kind of sense of extended family.

Nathan: And of course everybody knew whose kid you were?

Bowker: Everybody knew whose kid you were, and you knew everything about everybody else, their foibles and so forth. The gossip was sort of like the academic world [laughs] in some ways, I suppose.

Living in Washington, D.C.

Bowker: Life in Washington, D.C., where we lived, was, I suppose, kind of like the life in Walnut Creek or Palo Alto; the Washington where we lived was a standard suburbia. We lived quite near the Bureau of Standards, where my father worked, to be sure, but there were houses and schools, and everybody had cars. Of course the schools were segregated. It was much like the kind of life you'd find, I suppose, in suburbia today, so I really grew up in a congenial neighborhood.

Most of our family friends in Washington were professionals. Our closest friends were colleagues at the Bureau of Standards, most of them scientists or engineers. In a way, the life values of those people were much like academic people. The transition from that life into the academic world didn't seem very abrupt. I think government service, and the Bureau of Standards in particular, was somewhat different in those days from what it is today, probably a higher level of people on the whole. There were many fairly well-known scientists.

Mother's Interests and Forebears

Nathan: At home were there many books, magazines, and papers around?

Bowker: Yes. My mother particularly was a voracious reader. She had gone to Smith College and was a woman of considerable ability and, somewhat unusual, had gotten married and had a family. None of

her friends did. Those were the days when the women who went to college were blue stockings and went on to professions. She was very close to her college friends. [telephone interruption]

Nathan: You were talking about your mother being a blue stocking.

Bowker: She wasn't exactly a blue stocking, but all of her friends were career women, many of them distinguished. Some of them were college professors. It's interesting that she graduated from college in 1914, and, with a couple of exceptions, all the people she lived with for four years, her housemates, were career people. She had a few friends who were married and had children.

Nathan: Did she have an advanced degree?

Bowker: No, just a college degree, but that was pretty unusual in 1914. Her mother, of course, had not been educated except at high school, although she was reasonably cultivated. She could recite poetry by lots and lots of American poets and things of that sort. My mother studied mainly foreign languages, history, and classics.

So my mother was a great reader, and I read a lot as a child. She read a lot, and my grandmother read a lot; the house was always full of books. Mother had been the youngest child of a fairly old man, second marriage. He had no children with his first wife. He had gone to an academy or something that wasn't exactly a college but something that evolved probably into a prep school.

He had gone to school, and he spent a lot of time educating and reading to her (my mother). She had been her father's darling as she grew up and was educated. He died while she was in college. He was quite a bit older than his second wife.

Nathan: Did your mother read to you?

Bowker: Yes, a lot. But I read fairly early, as she did. She read, I think, at two or three or four years old.

It wasn't, I suppose, a super highbrow household, but we read a lot of books and talked a lot. In Washington you talked a lot of politics, and you read the local papers no matter what goes on.

Nathan: Were you at all attracted to politics in your early years?

Bowker: Not a great deal, really. My childhood was colored to some extent by some very tragic events: the deaths of two sisters who died when they were about six or maybe a little younger than that, one

right after World War I and the other when I was in high school. That, particularly the second death, very much depressed my father and also probably encouraged my mother to throw herself into club activities. So she was very, very active in all kinds of organizations from the church to the Red Cross to the women's clubs. She was big in the DAR [Daughters of the American Revolution] and was a national officer, very much a club woman type until World War II, when she gave up some of this. By then I had been away at college and worked during World War II, as she had done during World War I and World War II, more or less for patriotic reasons. There was a tremendous shortage of talent. She was a "gofer" and receptionist and secretary; I mean, she didn't have an important job, but she worked and opened the house to people who stayed there.

World War II and the Bureau of Standards

Bowker: Obviously science in World War II was extremely important. I was involved in it. The responsibility for the atomic bomb had been assigned to the Bureau of Standards originally, and a lot of the people involved in the early days of that would hang around the house or would come even when they moved down to Oak Ridge. One of our family's closest personal friends was General Leslie Groves' science advisor all through the war. He gave up his house in Washington, but he always stayed with us. I won't say we knew what was going on, but we knew more than we were supposed to. [laughs] I knew something, but I had no idea exactly what was going on.

It's an interesting history. It was totally beyond the capability of the Bureau of Standards, so the responsibility was then transferred to Van [Vannevar] Bush and Jim [James Bryant] Conant, who really fumbled it, more or less.

Nathan: In what way were you thinking that they fumbled it?

Bowker: Well, Conant was very doubtful if it was worth the commitment of resources. There are obviously a lot of things I didn't know first hand, but I've read since about the interaction between him and various people. I think it's fair to say, however, that the person who finally convinced most people to build the bomb, for whatever reasons, was Ernest Lawrence. I never knew him; I've just been reading this since. He was a full-blooded, right-wing, conservative American who believed that it could be done. The Jewish community and the refugee scientists really weren't

trusted. This was all before General Groves and [J. Robert] Oppenheimer and all that. Ernest was in early on. Neither Van Bush nor Conant were totally convinced that it was a good idea. In retrospect, the amount of resources used was really enormous. Well, it's neither here nor there, and it is questionable, I guess, really.

High School Interests

Bowker: In high school I was always a very good student, not terrifically popular. As today in suburbia, I suppose, the leading heroes of high school were the athletes. But I was quite active socially and reasonably popular and reasonably active in various clubs and activities.

Nathan: Were you especially interested in math or science, or other things?

Bowker: I always assumed I would be a scientist. It never occurred to me to be anything else. Looking back on it, one of my English teachers influenced me more than other people. One thing I did enjoy a lot in Washington was the kind of thing you see now on television more, the National Geographic lectures. I used to go to those every week for years, and I'd see Admiral Byrd, Amelia Earhart, Martin and Osa Johnson, and all kinds of people.

Science in those days had more to do with exploration and adventure. I was also a great fan of [Robert Hutchings] Goddard, the rocket man, and space. He wasn't around; he was at Clark University, which wasn't very far from our summer place, but I didn't know that. I used to read about him, and I would think of building rockets and things of that sort.

I worked at the Bureau of Standards some summers. I wasn't terribly interested in sports or music. I know I took music lessons for years. I did become interested in the theater in high school. I used to go downtown on Saturday afternoon at the matinees at the National Theater. They had a stock company, but they also had wonderful touring companies. The first musical I ever saw was "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes," and I remember seeing Ethel Barrymore do "The Corn is Green." That was really a great experience. Lionel would come. I don't remember seeing John Barrymore in person. That interest was also reinforced later in Boston in college.

I have a very strong memory of the Depression. Many of my mother's cousins were essentially unemployed, and a lot of them were kind of marginal economically all of their lives. However, in these little towns everybody has a house, a yard, and a garden. Even if they're broke and have no money at all, somehow they manage to get along. I had a great-uncle who ran a gas station unsuccessfully, a store unsuccessfully, a restaurant unsuccessfully, and yet he always lived in the same house, and we always went there a lot. I had two great-aunts who lived in a great big, old, gorgeous house which had been a colonial inn. One of them worked part time as a librarian in the village of two or three hundred people in North Orange, Massachusetts.

So a lot of my mother's relatives had no money, and many of them came and stayed with us. We always had a house full of people during the Depression. Many of them went to Florida; I don't know why. They drove old beat-up, Okie type trucks and cars, and they'd come and spend a week or two with us on the way. Whether we gave them money, I don't know.

The Depression did have a very noticeable influence--not on us; my father had a government job, and we had lots of money. He often said he never was as well off later.

Nathan: Did it influence you in your attitudes towards income and money?

Bowker: It should have. Not much. No, I was never threatened economically personally, and in fact have never paid much attention to financial affairs, somewhat to my disadvantage, I find, in my old age.

Woodrow Wilson High School was, I suppose, an upper-middle class high school. I was in the first graduating class; it was a brand-new school. It remained for many years the elite high school of Washington, D.C., and it may still be.

Nathan: What course offerings did it have?

Bowker: I took Latin, German, English, chemistry, biology. I didn't take physics in high school.

Nathan: It was a college prep school?

Bowker: Oh, yes.

Nathan: Was there any interest in your family in private schools?

Bowker: We lived quite near the Friends school, and my sister, who died, had been entered there in a pre-school program. Whether she would have stayed there or not, I don't know. No great advantage in those years to the private schools. I had friends at St. Albans, which was nearby. I don't remember having friends at the Friends school, which was just a few blocks away, but I did have friends at St. Albans--boys I hung around with. The neighborhood was fairly near a Catholic church, and there were an awful lot of fairly big Catholic families in the neighborhood, so there were a lot of kids around. We played in the streets after dinner and before dinner. It was a very child-centered kind of neighborhood, which it isn't now, I must say. We went back there to live in that house when I left Berkeley.

Nathan: How did it seem to you?

Bowker: It was much better for adults--lots of restaurants, near the subway; you could go anywhere. There were still a half a dozen of the old Catholic families; there would be one member of the family living in the family home. There was a big private parochial school adjacent to all of these schools I went to. I went to really good schools.

Nathan: Were there any teachers you remember as being particularly stimulating to you?

Bowker: Yes, I remember my English teacher, whose name was Celia Oppenheimer. She was from an old distinguished Washington family. We were good friends. And my German teacher was kind of unhappy with us because we weren't militantly anti-Hitler in those high school days. She kept saying, "We've failed; we've failed." [laughs]

I did hang around school a lot, but I didn't have any great relationships with the math or science teachers. I don't suppose there were super people anyway; it's hard to get them. Many of the teachers had Ph.D.s or were studying for advanced degrees at George Washington University in the evening. They were good teachers.

Politics and Voting

Bowker: I do remember, since we lived in a Catholic neighborhood, the election when Al Smith ran for president. I remember going to a Christmas pageant or something in the neighborhood where the

priest got up and said, "Isn't it too bad that none of these people can ever be president of the United States?" I suppose we were vaguely anti-Catholic, coming from New England. My parents were Republicans, pretty "stand pat." Many of their friends were liberal, and they were fairly tolerant. Many of them voted for Norman Thomas that year. I remember there was a big anti-Smith vote; certainly there was a lot of liberal feeling against electing a Catholic president of the United States in that year, and Norman Thomas got an enormous vote.

When I say, "voted for," in those years, if you were a government employee you were encouraged--more than encouraged; you really had to keep your voting residence in a state and vote. I mean, you were pushed to do that.

Nathan: Your voting residence was not Washington?

Bowker: No, Baldwinville, Massachusetts. Washington didn't have any vote.

Nathan: You as a voter could not have your home in Washington?

Bowker: No. The government of Washington was run by three commissioners appointed, I think, by the president. The chairman of the school board was appointed, I think, by the Supreme Court. I know it sounds dumb, but that's my recollection. One of my high school friends was from a really old Washington family. He was later president of National Geographic, which is an old Washington establishment thing. His mother, Mrs. Henry Gratton Doyle was always chairman of the school board, and her husband was a famous dean of George Washington University and once president of GW. They were neighbors. He's dead, apparently. I haven't seen him in recent years. It was a kind of nice, suburban growing up and good schools.

IV MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY (1937-1943)

Bowker: My family couldn't consider going anywhere but Massachusetts to college. When I got ready to go to college I looked at Cornell, but I decided to go to MIT.

Nathan: Was tuition a problem?

Bowker: It seemed fairly expensive. On the other hand, my cousin--a distant cousin--was chairman of the MIT Club of Washington, and the first year I had the Washington, D.C., scholarship to MIT. [laughs] But things were a little different in those days.

Importance of Family Status

Bowker: I knew Nevitt Sanford a little bit. I don't know whether you remember who he was.

Nathan: I remember him, yes.

Bowker: Sanford was at Stanford when I was there, and later he came up here and had something to do with one of the clinical psychology schools around here or something like that. He was actually quite a distinguished man. I remember meeting him. We were talking, and he was saying that really, when he went to Virginia it was who you were that mattered--the family. Other things didn't matter very much.

That's some exaggeration of the way life was before World War II, but it certainly was true in this little town, for example. I was from one of the good families, and my character would be judged by my behavior and my father's character; not by his income, but whether he fooled around or whether he supported his family properly. It was always, "Roy is a good providah." [laughs] He took care of his family.

Nathan: Do you feel there was not too much social mobility?

Bowker: There wasn't a lot of difference. This had been traditionally a mill town and a manufacturing town, and the difference in income between the school workers and the moguls in the town was not that great. I had cousins who worked in the factories, and the owner of the factory, who was the head of the family who runs the only existing factory, was a friend of mine. They had a cottage on this lake.

Nathan: I was thinking that if you were not from a good family, regardless of income, would you ever be acceptable?

Bowker: I don't know. That whole area became overwhelmed by immigration, largely French Canadians. But you wouldn't have been taken into MIT if you hadn't been from a good family probably.

Now, the man who founded Worcester Tech had been a tin peddler in this town, and people from this town, I think to this day, including my father and uncle, went to Worcester Tech at half tuition. I had some thought I should go there, but I decided to go to Cambridge instead. Well, it's a better institution by far.

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Nathan: You were just telling me that MIT was a land-grant university and that ROTC was compulsory.

Bowker: Yes, when I went there for two years. I obviously took it.

Nathan: How did you like it?

Bowker: Hated it. It wasn't very serious.

Courses and Majors

Bowker: MIT, when I went there, was very grueling, and if I left or flunked out, as many of my friends did, I thought it would be because of physical exhaustion rather than intellectual challenge. We had something like thirty-five hours of classes a week. We had drill, gym, English, mathematics, chemistry, and physics--both the lecture recitation and laboratory--our freshman year, and six hours of drafting a week. So at MIT you were kind of nine-to-five, except for one afternoon or one morning, depending on your schedule.

Nathan: When did you do your studying?

Bowker: At night. We studied all night. We worked very hard. It was kind of ridiculous. Many engineering schools were that way in that time, and they have since eased up a good deal. Maybe drafting was only four hours a week; whatever it was, I was terrible at it, and I was obviously not destined to be an engineer. My lab assistant in chemistry was the son of someone at the Bureau of Standards for whom I had worked one summer. He took me aside one day and said, "You're not an experimentalist," [laughs] which was true. I switched then to mathematics.

English Assignment and the Theater

Bowker: Going back to the theater, none of us took courses in English or economics or humanities as being serious subjects, of course, at MIT; we thought that was all pretty frivolous. But I did take a course my second year in theater, drama. You had to take English, and this was the one I picked. One of the things we had to do was go to plays and write reviews of them. I can't remember exactly whether it was four or six, but Boston had a WPA theater going at that time, and it was really a lot of fun.

I remember--and I have since looked it up, and it's really true--that I went to the opening night in Boston of "Our Town," Thornton Wilder's play; it opened in Boston. I always thought it was such a great play. And I went to the opening night of "The Man Who Came to Dinner." Alexander Woollcott was in the audience. We also went to other plays, Clifford Odets and various things. Our faculty were a little radical. It didn't take, of course, like Berkeley. [laughs]

Nathan: No wonder you got hooked on the theater.

Bowker: Whenever I've had time--and I must say that at Berkeley not much, and when I was head of CUNY not much--but since then, whenever I've not been very busy I've gone to the theater a lot, and I do today. That comes both from my high school days and MIT.

Friends on the Faculty

Bowker: At MIT I became very friendly with lots of faculty.

Nathan: Are there any names of people you remember?

Bowker: The two statisticians who had a good deal of influence on me were George Wadsworth and Harold Freeman, but I was also friendly with the chairman of the Mathematics Department, Ted Martin; the young instructor named Kenneth Arnold, who is still a good friend; Norman Levinson, a very famous mathematician, we used to see. Not all of them--not Wadsworth--were, but many were Left and members of the Communist Party; that was sort of the specialty of the house in the Mathematics Department at MIT and in the Astronomy Department at Harvard. These were the two left-wing activities.

Nathan: Did they talk politics particularly?

Bowker: Oh, yes; they wanted me to join the Party.

Nathan: What held you back?

Bowker: I don't know; I didn't want to. It was sort of socially acceptable in these circles.

Nathan: How was it that you, as an undergraduate, became friendly with these teachers?

Bowker: Well, mathematics was fairly small; it was not a very big major in those days. There were only a handful of students in it, and now there is a major. I actually had an office--not as a student; I went to work, as my father became ill while I was at MIT. He was depressed and not working, so I applied for one of these NYA [National Youth Administration] jobs and got it, correcting papers and working around the department office. So I had a desk.

There were only two or three of us who were majors at the time, and they [the teachers] were glad to see young people. Here

at Berkeley, and later there, mathematics has fifty or a hundred majors, so it's not possible [to be close]. That may have been part of the attraction. I was entertained socially, and of course I stayed there for two years after I graduated, so I was at MIT all told for six years. Some of these experiences came after I did work as a research assistant and teaching assistant.

Religious and Racial Discrimination

Bowker: Anti-Semitism was an issue that came up. Growing up in Washington I didn't pay much attention to it, but by the time I left I became rather shocked at the treatment of blacks in Washington, D.C.--segregated schools and substantially inferior housing--although in many ways they were better off than they were in other parts of the country.

After the Civil War there had been a good deal of movement in improving the condition of blacks in Washington, and Howard University was opened by General Howard--there was a Howard School near where I lived, a segregated Black school--and some housing was built. There wasn't a great deal of segregation just after the Civil War. It was introduced mostly by Democrats and reinforced very much by Woodrow Wilson, who was the first southerner to be president after the Civil War.

When I say Democrats, the chairman of the district committee would always be Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia or the local congressman, and they sort of ran the District of Columbia. It was pretty thoroughly segregated when I was growing up.

Nathan: Seniority again?

Bowker: No, the local people from adjacent communities in Maryland and Virginia still have undue control over the affairs of the District of Columbia to this day in terms of taxes and transportation. The metro, for example, the BART of Washington, D.C., was superb as a service to Montgomery County [laughter] and so forth, and it's still true. The district doesn't have any clout.

I still remember when I went in to see the chairman of the Mathematics Department at MIT, and he said, "Bowker, why do you want to major in mathematics?" I said, "I don't know; I like the subject." He said, "You must be Jewish." I said, "Well, no, I'm not." "Okay, then, because if you were Jewish we'll never be able to place you." Now, this was a department that was predominantly

Jewish. However, Harvard didn't have Jews on the faculty. That was sort of an issue that I became aware of. Of course, with the growth of Fascism and the treatment of Jews by Hitler the awareness of Jews grew. I even had it in Woodrow Wilson High, I remember. There were homes who would have parties and wouldn't invite Jews.

I had a friend who was the son of the local pharmacist, and I once took him to a party with me where he hadn't been invited. It wasn't an unusual thing to do in those days, but the family bawled me out: "We don't accept that kind of person here." So there was a certain amount of anti-Semitism, not in my family or even in my immediate circle, but very strong in the academic world before World War II. Harvard, particularly, was [anti-Semitic].

You had people like Norbert Wiener, his brother-in-law, Philip Franklin, and Norman Levinson, all of whom had been spurned by Harvard and were at MIT. It made MIT a very good department. Harvard has changed now.

So I was fairly liberal in those days politically, although I was not, when I graduated from college, in favor of the war [World War II]. I can't remember exactly. I remember when President Compton spoke at our graduation, strongly advocating intervention in the war, and we booed him. We were "America Firsters" or something. That soon became moot.

I went to work almost as soon as I graduated in war work on a project involving weather forecasting.

Nathan: This was when you were an assistant statistician?

Bowker: Yes, when I graduated at MIT.

Scholar's Life and Student Views

Nathan: Before you graduated, did you have a job as a teaching assistant?

Bowker: Just a grader. I was a TA afterwards. One thing influenced me a good deal. I belonged to a fraternity, although I never enjoyed it very much, and after a couple of years I moved out, next door. I ate with them every day. I enjoyed the people, but I didn't enjoy the physical arrangements.

Our fraternity had a policy of having a tutor for freshmen, a graduate student who lived there free and whose job was to see the freshmen through. The tutor that we had was a physical chemist named Bernard Vonnegut, with whom I became very close. He was [author] Kurt's older brother, actually. Kurt used to come around some in those years, and I had no idea he'd be important. They were an Indianapolis family.

Toward the end of the evening Bernie always went down to a local cafe for a couple of beers, and I began to join him and his group. They were mostly graduate students, and they talked a lot about the life of scholarship and the life of scientists. There was a chemist named Epstein and another famous chemist named Walt Stockmeyer, who went first to MIT and then moved to Dartmouth. I did associate with a lot of graduate students in those days as well as some of my friends around MIT. I was pretty clear--not that there was much to do with mathematics in those days--that I was drifting toward the academic world more or less all along. It didn't seem inconsistent with what my parents had done.

I never had any particular ambition to be "big time." I don't suppose, in fact, that I had any real sense of the pecking order of American universities. My idea was that I would live in a seedy old New England house, maybe near Williams and be Mr. Chips. [laughs] Nothing ever turned out that way.

Nathan: Were women admitted to MIT at that time?

Bowker: Yes, we had some women. We had a woman in my class; I wonder what ever happened to her? I just went to my fiftieth reunion, and nobody could seem to dig her up. Maybe she was above or behind me. Yes, we had women and always have had; more now. It wasn't an issue.

Nathan: The notion of the tutor in the house to help the freshmen, that's a very interesting notion. How did it work?

Bowker: Fine. He tutored us. In addition to all these classes, there was one hour a week reserved for quizzes, and it alternated between physics and mathematics. The night before he prepped us for the exam. At night, in the early part of the evening, we could go in and ask him about homework. He went down to the bar about eleven.

Nathan: So if you were stuck on a problem--?

Bowker: We'd go ask him. It helped a lot. He was a good tutor, a good teacher.

Nathan: Could anything like that happen at Berkeley, do you think?

Bowker: Oh, it could. I don't know whether a graduate student would live in a fraternity house at Berkeley.

Nathan: Well, there are dorms. It's a very appealing idea.

Bowker: Yes. This had been a tradition. I guess he was a member of the fraternity.

Nathan: What was the name of the fraternity?

Bowker: Kappa Sigma. David Saxon was there [at MIT]. He did belong to a fraternity, but then he got married, and I suppose he lived with his wife. One of my fraternity brothers, James Tyson, with whom I've been friendly through the years and who was a physics graduate student, was very friendly with David. I knew him slightly.

There was another physicist named George Vineyard, who was either director or co-director of Brookhaven. Once, when Vineyard was out here chairing a review committee of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, the Saxons gave a party for the Vineyards and us and Sinsheimer, who was also in our class.

I haven't actually kept a lot of friends from college, one or two. One of the mathematicians to whom I was close has died.

I spent about two years, and I had a very good education at MIT, and they [the regulations] were really sort of flexible, since I wasn't especially interested in engineering. MIT has always been pretty heavy in science anyway. Until the last two presidents, in fact, they've always had physicists or businessmen or something as presidents. They never really had any engineers in recent history, and now they have two in a row. Still, a major emphasis today is on biology. They're putting an enormous number of resources into biological research because they think, and everybody thinks, that's where the action is going to be, even in technology and engineering in the future.

We were heavily involved in politics in college. Oh, the Spanish Civil War, of course, was very moving to our generation. I was quite Left in college, but not all the way, though enough so that I did have trouble with security clearances later on in life. My first wife, Elizabeth Rempfer, was, in fact, a graduate student at Harvard at the time. She was a student of Rulon and Truman Kelly, who were educational statisticians.

She was in the School of Education. Truman Kelly had once been at Stanford, and I got to know her partly through statistical circles and partly through left-wing circles. She wasn't, but her family were very active in the Left. Her brother-in-law was in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and her brother has been kind of a famous communist in some ways; he's a mathematician. Her father, in fact, had been fairly Left. He was a German banker and had gotten interested and went to Harvard. He opposed World War I and had a lot of trouble with that.

Nathan: Did she continue her studies after you were married?

Bowker: Not exactly. Well, she was studying as long as we were at MIT, but after a couple of years there I became disaffected with the project we were working on, statistical weather forecasting. I didn't think it was really very important or useful.

V COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY (1943-1947)Statistics Taught as a Serious Subject

Bowker: Harold Freeman, one of my faculty friends, was then doing some consulting for the Statistical Research Group, so I went down there and interviewed and moved to Columbia University. That's where the statistical research group was. That particular group really had an enormous influence on me intellectually. Columbia was one of the few places where statistics was taught and was a serious subject in those years. That would not be true of either Berkeley or Stanford in those years.

Nathan: How do you account for that?

Bowker: It's sort of an offbeat subject, wasn't terribly well recognized. It had grown up in this country in a couple of places, Columbia being one of them, largely due to one man, Harold Hotelling, who was trained in mathematics but turned to mathematical economics and mathematical statistics. He had had students who had fanned out to some extent. The big impetus for statistics in this country came from schools of agriculture, with design of experiments and analysis of crop yields. Ames, Iowa, was a very leading place. Why nobody was in California is strange, but they just weren't any good out here.

Nathan: There is so much agriculture here.

Bowker: Well, they had some statistics in agriculture. Even today Davis has a group, but it's more or less a copy of the Berkeley group. It didn't thrive so much out here, but it did in North Carolina and Iowa. There were a few people at Ann Arbor, Michigan and at Iowa who came in sort of through the actuarial side, which was, of

course, basically a statistical problem. Statistics had been developed more in England than in the United States, in experimental design, and a lot of statistical work came out of classification of species and physical anthropology, too.

Statistical Research Group, Applied Mathematics Panel (1943-1945)

Bowker: Nevertheless, Harold Hotelling was at Columbia and had been instrumental in forming this Statistical Research Group, which was part of the NDRC, National Defense Research Committee, which was part of Office of Scientific Research and Development, the operation that Van Bush ran. My father by now was working for Van Bush. He had come back to work and had worked in war work very hard all during the war. It had nothing to do with me, though.

This group was under the general supervision of Warren Weaver and Mina Rees. There were a number of groups. I believe Griffith Evans had brought Jerzy Neyman and Alfred Tarski to Berkeley by this time, but I don't really remember that for sure.

Nathan: This was still relatively early days for statistics?

Bowker: Here, yes. Hotelling had been at Stanford at one time but had left; he went to Columbia to the Economics Department. Anyway, he had a number of famous students, including Sam Wilks, who came out of Iowa but studied with Hotelling. Princeton was fairly active.

Allen Wallis was hired to work in this group. He had been an economist but had come East to work some with Hotelling on statistical questions. It became pretty clear that he was going to have to run the group if anything happened, so he really became the director, and Hotelling was called principal investigator. The group had as big a collection of people in my field as has ever been put together. It included people like Hotelling, Abraham Wald; Jack Wolfowitz; a fellow named Abraham Girshick, who was later the mainstay of the department at Stanford; a fellow named Jimmy Savage, who was the mainstay of the department at the University of Chicago; Ed Paulson; Herb Solomon, who was later at Stanford.

None of the Berkeley people were there, which is sort of strange, but Erich Lehmann and Joe Hodges, who are roughly my age, did operations research for the air force and were actually overseas. David Blackwell didn't come into the field until after

the war; he was teaching at Howard, but we used to talk to him some about problems.

We also had some mathematicians. In addition to that, Allen, who was a statistician but also an economist, brought in Milton Friedman and George Stigler, both of whom have gotten Nobel Laureates in economics since. So it was a pretty stellar group all told. We worked very hard together, mostly on classified military problems.

I came to run the computing services as well as working on projects. I had done that at MIT, too. So I had already begun to do minor administrative chores, even as a graduate student.

Nathan: You were pretty accelerated. Do I pick up the feeling that there is such a things as critical mass in quality research?

Bowker: Yes, there was a critical mass. We had very good people.

Nathan: That must have been exciting.

Bowker: It really was. It was really great. Social life--well, the Ken Arnolds came down from MIT, and I spent a lot of time with them. I used to work with him one evening a week on something or other, and we'd have dinner. They had one of these great big apartments near Columbia with her sister and her husband. It was a big family. They were biologists, one at Columbia and one at Brooklyn College. There was another engineer from MIT who came down, Julian Bigelow, with whom we were friendly, and they were neighbors. My wife worked there, too, as kind of a secretary and on the computer.

Nathan: You were saying that your wife worked with your group at Columbia?

Bowker: Yes, she worked there. That was an experience that was really better than almost any graduate training. I worked on problems with the supervision of and cooperation with the best people in our field. It really was extremely stimulating and interesting. I don't know that I had much doubt at this time, but this settled in my mind that I would be a college professor and researcher.

A lot of the work we did had to do with weapons, optimum utilization of weapons and things of that sort, but some of it had to do with manufacturing of war materials and war goods, ammunition and products of various sorts. The field became known as quality control and sampling inspection, and I did a lot of

work in that field. Subsequently that was one of my main areas of professional interest.

National Research Council Fellowship and Work at Chapel Hill
(1945-1946)

Bowker: As the war ended, there was a program of the National Research Council to take people whose graduate work had been interrupted by the war, so I had a fellowship to study for a year afterwards from the National Research Council.

The man I had been working on my dissertation with had moved to North Carolina. He was not part of this group. He was a famous Chinese statistician, P. L. Hsu; he has since died. Erich Lehmann here actually wrote the obituary of him, which we have. After a year at Columbia, I've forgotten the exact year of my fellowship, I moved down to Chapel Hill.

Nathan: One quarter in 1946 is what I have.

Bowker: I guess it was in '45-'46 I had a fellowship, and then that summer R. A. Fisher, who was one of the founders of statistics in England, was lecturing at a special summer session in North Carolina. I went down to Raleigh for the summer and then went to Chapel Hill in the fall for just a quarter to finish up my dissertation with Hsu.

Nathan: How long had you been working on your dissertation at Columbia? You had been advanced to candidacy at Columbia?

Bowker: Oh, I don't know. Sometime during that year. I had pretty much taken the course work as I went along, so I probably was working on the dissertation and studying for the exam during the year '45-'46. I actually didn't finish the dissertation then until a couple of years later. I think my Ph.D. was officially awarded in '49. P. L. Hsu was a brilliant man. He had studied in England and came over here. Erich Lehmann studied with him, and other people did. But he decided to go back to China.

In the meantime, Allen Wallis had been on the faculty at Stanford and had come back to Stanford to start a committee to promote statistics there. Al Eurich was the vice president of Stanford, who had some interest in statistics and knew what it was a little better. His field was education, but he had been involved in testing. Fred Terman had come back to Stanford after

the war. He had run the radio research laboratory at Harvard, which was the counter radar. MIT and the radiation lab did the radar, and they did the counter measures. Anyway, it was war work. He was very interested in developing Stanford.

VI STANFORD UNIVERSITY (1947-1963)

Bowker: Mina Rees by now had moved--this was the "old boy and old girl" network if there ever was one, but that's the way life was in those days--to the Office of Naval Research. She had been a career faculty member at Hunter College. A great woman and a great mathematician; well, she wasn't really a great mathematician, but a great figure in mathematics. She had been willing to finance some continuations of the military work on acceptance sampling.

I can't remember exactly, but I think Allen got a grant for that purpose with the understanding that he wasn't going to do it, but he would get people to do it. There was an expert in that general area at Stanford named Gene Grant.

Running a Project and Starting a Statistics Department

Bowker: Anyway, they decided to approach me about coming to Stanford to run this project, to be in the Mathematics Department and to start organizing a program in statistics. The chief negotiator was somehow Fred Terman, although Allen was behind the scenes. He and I met and came to an agreement, so after a quarter at Chapel Hill, although I had not at the time finished my Ph.D., I came on out to Stanford and undertook to run this project and to start a department.

By this time Neyman was pretty well ensconced, so it is possible that he came out to Berkeley just before the war. Actually, he was in the Mathematics Department, which at Berkeley was very broad, not narrowly devoted to pure mathematics as many

are. Much credit is due to Griffith Evans for the development of statistics as well as to Raymond Birge of physics, who was an expert in the accuracy of physical constants.

Nathan: How did a nice Massachusetts boy like you come out to California?

Bowker: It was kind of wild.

Nathan: Did you feel very bold?

Bowker: Yes. Well, it was nip and tuck. Many people thought it was a foolish move. On the other hand, I was sought after. I didn't look for this job; I was sought after, and that's always a big plus, I think. One of the things I find so distasteful today about these presidential searches is when the presidency of the University of California is opened, you have to fill out an application form. I mean, you have to indicate an interest, and you have to be a candidate. In my case there weren't any candidates, there wasn't any screening; a bunch of people looked around at who they thought could do this job, decided that I could, and asked me. And I said yes. That's pretty influential, especially when they're people like Wallis and Terman.

Was it sensible to come out here? Well [laughs], yes, it turned out to be a great success. But I still remember there were some faculty members at Stanford--two in particular, Spencer and Schaeffer in mathematics, who must have been a little older than I was, because Don Spencer was actually one of my teachers at MIT; but he wasn't that much older. We used to sit around and talk about whether Stanford would amount to anything or not, and Schaeffer decided it wouldn't, it was hopeless, and left and went to Wisconsin. [laughter] Spencer left after a while and went to Princeton because he was made an offer; he was sought after.

Nathan: Were you at all attracted by the idea of creating something?

Bowker: Yes, that did have some attraction to me. I always liked Al Eurich, and I found working with him rewarding. On the other hand, the president at that time was named Donald Tresidder, and he soon died. Wally Sterling was appointed, and I still remember when he was appointed. I was still an assistant professor, and a fellow named Doug Whitaker, later vice president of Rockefeller University, a biologist, was made provost.

In the meantime, Wallis left before I got here, really, and went to Chicago, where he'd always kind of wanted to be. He was from the Chicago School of Economics, and he and Milton and George were all students of Frank Knight. They were all there together,

though he didn't stay indefinitely. He was dean of the Business School most of the time he was at Chicago. He also started the Statistics Department at Chicago, and he may have gone just as a faculty member. He had been in the Economics Department at Stanford, and he remains a close personal friend.

Now, statistics is a relatively new discipline. I started out building the group at Stanford. I had to ask for separate departmental status fairly early on because the Math Department was not really interested, as was the Math Department at Berkeley.

Nathan: Did you have any problem getting money to support the FTEs that you needed?

Bowker: Well, at Stanford FTE isn't a concept; money is.

Intelligent Use of Government Money

Bowker: Fred Terman had the view that the intelligent use of government money in those days, when things were pretty easy, meant it could be used to support faculty and could be used to support a department. So in the first few years of the department most of us were heavily in a percentage on what would be called soft money, even though some of us had tenure-bearing ranks. That's really how Terman built the Engineering School.

He jumped into federal money much harder and faster than Berkeley, aside from the laboratories, or Harvard or most places, and had lots and lots of federal money all over the place. He brought people in, and the good ones were appointed to the faculty. And we had graduate students like David Packard and William Hewlett, and Russell and Sig Varian.

Terman decided to build the tube industry here and did. Berkeley was much more conservative in those years. On the other hand, it had lots more money than Stanford. The real question was whether Stanford--and I don't know how much it would have influenced me, actually--would try to go first rate or whether it would continue as a kind of respected regional university, sort of in the league of USC and UOP [University of the Pacific]. I don't suppose they would like to have it put in those terms. Stanford when I went there was first rate in physics; it was first rate in psychology; it was strong in engineering; it had some strength in English and history. The Business School was pretty pedestrian. The Engineering School had some bright spots; from the beginning

Stanford was more interested in engineering than in other subjects, unusual for a private institution. But it wasn't comprehensive across the board.

So Wally came in, and I hardly knew what it meant. He had a long talk with me about, "Do you think we can really go first rate?"

Nathan: What did you say?

Bowker: "Sure, why not?" but I didn't know what I was talking about. Finally he said, "Is there any point in doing anything else in this environment?" So he decided to go for broke. The way they did it was with government money largely. That isn't understood. In the early years some income from the land came along. I never thought that was important.

Some Consequences of Berkeley's Loyalty Oath

Bowker: I was asked whether I could make our department one of the most famous ones in the country, and it was nip and tuck until the Berkeley loyalty oath, curiously enough. The Berkeley oath shook this group enough so that I became confident that we could. And we were; we did. I think Berkeley and Stanford today, along with Chicago, would be the leading Departments of Statistics in the country, at least by the ranking.

Nathan: Could you go into a little detail about how the loyalty oath helped you?

Bowker: By this time I had started to become a fairly large operator in terms of government funds, not only in statistics but in mathematics and some related fields of social science, particularly mathematical economics. I had lumped a lot of this activity into something called the Applied Mathematics and Statistics Laboratory, which was a big, multi-million dollar operation financed largely by the Office of Naval Research.

One of the statisticians' statisticians is a fellow named Charles Stein. He had left Berkeley possibly before the oath but would be unwilling to come back to Berkeley; he went to Chicago. So we recruited him to come to Stanford, and that was a big coup. Erich Lehmann took a leave of absence and came down and taught for a year, and we negotiated with him, but he didn't stay. David Blackwell spent a couple of years at Stanford, finally deciding it

wasn't sensible for him to raise his family in Palo Alto, so he went back to Howard and ultimately ended up here at Berkeley.

But in mathematics, Paul Garabedian, who was really a big figure in our activities, left and came down. Hans Levy came down for a year. So we had a lot of talent, and it sort of gave a shot in the arm to the whole university in a way. Wolfgang Panofsky came down to run the linear accelerator. I had nothing to do with that; I did, actually. It's a little hard to explain how Stanford was run in those days, but it was run by a clique. The clique consisted of the provost, a few deans, and a few very strong department chairmen. We made the decisions.

Nathan: Did you find yourself in this clique?

Bowker: I was in the clique. I knew I was in the clique when I was elected to the co-op board; that was hands-on. [laughter] The co-op board was sort of a hit here for a while. I remember we would meet jointly with the Berkeley board, and [Robert] Aaron Gordon was always chairman. [laughs] He was a big figure; it wasn't quite as much of a clique.

Nathan: When you first were working to establish a separate Department of Statistics you were still an assistant professor without tenure?

Bowker: Yes. I guess I didn't have tenure.

Nathan: That seems kind of advanced for someone in that position.

Bowker: Yes. I used to explain that to the students here at Berkeley. I'm a great believer in student power. I was a department chair before I had my Ph.D.

Nathan: Remarkable.

Faculty: Young Ones from Eastern U.S., Seniors from Europe

Bowker: You see, right after World War II there was an enormous shortage of faculty of all sorts, and a whole bunch of us who were young--most people had their Ph.D.s but not everybody did--came out to Stanford from the East. For example, Wallis had been in the Economics Department, and I was put in the Math Department. Well, the Economics Department of course immediately demanded that they had to have a statistician to replace Wallis. I worked with them, and we recruited Kenneth Arrow, who had been a fellow graduate

student of mine at Columbia (and also now a Nobel Laureate in economics). He left and came back; he's still at Stanford.

There were a whole bunch of us who were about the same age, about the same age as some senior graduate students, and we formed a kind of community that was fairly friendly. We were really in great demand. The GI Bill was filling in. So I was lucky to go up very fast, really. My future at Stanford was never in doubt, in my mind at least. I was a big wheel. [laughs] I did get a Ph.D., and I was running a multi-million-dollar laboratory. I was also really half-way running the Mathematics Department after a few years because it was so chaotically run and needed better management, and it needed the kind of infusion of federal funds that I was bringing in.

I helped bring in a lot of these senior Europeans. George Polya and Gabor Sego were there, but I brought in Charles Loewner and Stephen Bergman; helped support a very distinguished appointment, Max Shiffer, et cetera. Paul Garabedian was there. And I did other things. Patrick Suppes, who is a very distinguished philosopher and logician, began to work with us. He became interested in some of our problems and then branched out into computerized learning theory and has been a major figure in that field. A lot of the mathematical economists were there, attracted by Ken Arrow, whom I had helped to hire. Suppes got interested in learning theory, and we had a very distinguished group at one time, including Dick Atkinson, now an old friend, whom I recruited from UCLA and who is now the chancellor at UC San Diego.

Not everything was institutionalized, but most things were. It was really a big operation and a very good one in mathematics. I took a year off and went back to Columbia.

Joint Appointments

Bowker: Well, maybe there are a couple of other things. One of the techniques I used in building the department was a whole series of joint appointments. Quinn McNemar was already there as a statistician in the Psychology Department, and I made him a joint appointment. Arrow was more of a joint appointment.

Nathan: What was the advantage of the joint appointment?

Bowker: There are two advantages. One was that it made it easier to coordinate. One of the problems with statistics, and it's true here to some extent, is that psychology, sociology, public health --all the departments want to teach their own elementary courses, and they are taught ordinarily by people who are fair statisticians and practitioners but are fairly applied. The standard view of our profession is that you're better off to have your basic statistics taught by the professionals in the field. If you have joint appointments, nobody has such a vested interested in one department or another. It also gives you an increased number of people. It gives you a lot of influence all over the university.

In fields where there wasn't very much statistics, like education, the joint appointments offered them an opportunity to get very good people they wouldn't be able to get in psychology and economics. It led more to cooperation. The only one we never cracked, and they never cracked here, either, was the Business School; it's always had its own. It's always insisted on having its own.

Nathan: Are there any disadvantages to joint appointments to the departments?

Bowker: Oh, it takes a little extra administrative trouble, and sometimes people's loyalties are mixed. Stanford was a small enough place; here [at Berkeley] it's harder, actually. Here the departmental mechanisms are so much more inbred. There, I think there were many of us who would take a universitywide point of view on things. Of course, I was fighting hard to get enough elementary teaching for my statisticians to keep a department at critical size, and that probably was helpful in doing it.

I think it was helpful intellectually. For example, many of the students I had in the early days in my courses in statistics, people who were my age or a little junior or senior, now are very important in psychology. Wayne Holzman and Lyle Jones are a couple of names that come to mind, very distinguished people, one at Texas and one at Chapel Hill. I had a number of economists--Harvey Wagner, who is now at Yale. So people who were interested in statistics could drift over and work with us, even though they got Ph.D.s in other subjects. I remember a student I had, Claude Brinegar, who went to work for Union Oil and was federal Secretary of Transportation later on. His wife was a secretary in the College of Letters and Science called Humanities and Science, and she kept raising my salary. I always thought I was greatly indebted to her. She'd say, "You ought to make as much as Ken

Arrow does." [laughter] Claude did a master's thesis with me and got a Ph.D. in economics and is kind of a famous figure.

So it helped interdisciplinary worked. It's sort of vanished now. It's also true that when I was a graduate student, mathematical economics and mathematical statistics were much closer as subjects than they are today. We all took the same courses and worked on the same problems.

Loyalty to the Discipline

Nathan: You have traced the careers of various people. First they're at Columbia, then they're at Stanford, Chicago; they're moving a lot. Is there any issue of institutional loyalty? Did it become a problem that people are so mobile now?

Bowker: I think it is something of a problem. There are people whose loyalty is primarily to their discipline, and there are people who become totally loyal and good citizens of a campus. It is a problem. I think both Stanford and Berkeley have enough people who make their whole careers here and are loyal to the institution, so it isn't a critical problem.

Nathan: I was wondering about some Academic Senate problems--say, campus government and universitywide issues--and how much interest people would have when they're coming and going.

Bowker: I was of course very much influenced by Fred Terman, and he was totally devoted to Stanford. But he really viewed the academic world as a highly competitive one. I've done some talking about his style, and I want to talk more about it as I move into the central administration at Stanford, because he also had an enormous influence on me. One of his famous statements is, "The academic administration is something like intercollegiate athletics, except there are no rules." [laughter] He was a real bandit in some ways. He really believed in competitive bargaining, hiring the best, and doing what it took to get them. He is the one who made Stanford what it is today, in my opinion.

Applied Mathematics and Statistics Laboratory##

Bowker: There are a couple of points about the Statistics Department at Stanford which I would like to touch on and then go on to more general things about Stanford.

It was my idea in building the Applied Mathematics and Statistics Laboratory to use the SRG--Statistical Research Group--as a model. That meant that while it couldn't be the same, we would have projects; we would have particular organized activities. The continuation of work on sampling inspection was one of them, and there were several others, some of which were of military significance, most of which were not. These were funded by government grants and contracts.

The groups of people working on the projects, of course, were always directed by faculty; but it meant that we had visitors, research associates, and research assistants, all of whom were graduate students. We had a building large enough so that most of the faculty members and most of the students and research associates all had offices. There was a community of interest. Sequoia Hall at Stanford housed the Statistics Department and part of the Mathematics Department. The Serra House had the mathematical economists, and we had a building also nearby for Suppes and his activities in computer-assisted instruction. So we had a series of buildings, old dormitories. One was an old residence, and Sequoia was an old dormitory that was structurally unsound, so they took off the top story and what had been a two-story dormitory became one story. Before that we were in the old president's residence, which was called The Knoll and had been the residence of Ray Lyman Wilbur. The president's residence now is the Herbert Hoover residence--the Lou Henry Hoover House--built by the Hoovers when they lived at Stanford and before he decided to become president of something more important than Stanford [laughs].

So it really was a high point of graduate work for those people who were there. It's nowhere near as pleasant and attractive now as it was then, nor was it ever really that attractive here at Berkeley, although Neyman tried some to create a community. They were in Dwinelle Hall, for one thing, which was awful. Before that, it seemed to me they were in the building west of Cowell, was it Durant Hall? Is that possible? Anyway, in Dwinelle it was sort of hard to have common areas and so forth. I don't know that all that is important, but it was true that we had a series of communities that were fairly inbred, and we saw each other socially and spent a lot of time in each other's homes as

other socially and spent a lot of time in each other's homes as well as around the office. That, of course, has deteriorated through the years but kept up pretty much as long as I was at Stanford. Even when I went into the administration, I kept an eye on the laboratory and the various parts of it.

Nathan: At Stanford were there any visitors or foreign students?

Bowker: Lots of visitors and some foreign students; we always had a handful of Indians and some students from Europe, but lots of visitors from the University of Washington. I remember especially Birnbaum, a whole bunch of people came. Occasionally people would come even though it was from Berkeley. Erich Lehmann came for a year, and Hans Levy came for a year, as I said, but that was really because of the oath and the dissatisfaction with things here. But we always had four or five visitors, particularly from the universities that were likely in the future to send us graduate students; so we built up our graduate student body that way.

We had government money to finance most of these activities. This was a model that Terman had introduced. He built up electrical engineering and other branches of engineering that way, and in addition to that there was a very large research institute, called the Microwave Laboratory, jointly with physics, which was heavily government-financed and had lots of graduate students and so forth. I suppose in some ways it was similar to Lawrence Berkeley Lab, but this was all in mathematics, and we were early on jumping into government money in a big way.

Relations with Industry and Government

Nathan: Did you have special contacts within the government?

Bowker: Yes, we cultivated them. But, as I say, Mina Rees was head of mathematical science and then deputy director of the Office of Naval Research. It depends on the productivity of the investigator, so in the end each person really helped. We had more projects--that can't be done again, but it could be done in those years, and it was very, very productive.

Another thing Terman introduced was instruction by television, and we participated in that. UC Berkeley has a little bit of it.

Nathan: What do you think of that system?

Bowker: This system is different from the others. A group of students in a local laboratory or in a local industrial lab would be in a room, and the lecturer would talk before television. They could interrupt and ask questions by telephone; so they were telephone-interruptible. They were actually televisions. There was a little bit of that between Davis and Livermore and a couple of places like that, but Terman really pioneered that.

We charged double or triple tuition to the local industries who paid it, so it actually made money. We didn't give elementary courses; these were advanced courses, people working for masters' degrees. You couldn't get a Ph.D. that way, but you could get a master's degree. It was a money-maker, and it also enabled us to give masters' degrees to lots of people in local industry as the technological industry and the Stanford Industrial Park were developing.

So there were lots of ways that we related to both industry and government. People who studied this have pointed out some disadvantages. If you compare the Engineering School at Stanford with the one at Berkeley, they're probably roughly equivalent in quality, and that means close to the top in the country. On the other hand, Stanford wouldn't have very much development in anything that the federal government wouldn't support, like, say, road construction or civil engineering. Oh, they had some, but then, you usually find that more typically in land-grant universities anyway. I mean, this University, Berkeley, traditionally has had to have engineers for roads, sewer systems, and whatever the state needs, so they've done that. In the areas in which Terman chose to operate, those departments were close to the top in the country. He did go into aeronautical, and of course had mechanical and some civil engineering.

Computer Center and Department of Computer Science

Bowker: Kind of early on in the game, he and I talked together about starting a computer center. There is some history of that. There was one of the very early IBM machines, and then I helped negotiate gifts from the companies and got the equipment going. A lot of it was paid for by charges from local projects. We asked Professor Jack Herriot of the Mathematics Department to be the co-director of it with, I think, Professor Alan Peterson in engineering. I told Fred Terman that I thought we really should move into a full academic Department of Computer Science. I turned out to be right. I wasn't absolutely sure I knew what I

was doing, but anyway I suppose guessing right is part of wisdom. [laughs] I gave this lecture around the country, and I remember being laughed at in several places, including in an IBM company meeting. Computer science is a separate discipline, and I have actually given a lecture within the last year or two on the history of this; maybe I could send you a copy of it.

It was interesting. We decided to go after George Forsythe at UCLA to head this thing up. UCLA had an enormous head-start in computing; it had been the center of something called the Western Regional Computer Center, financed by the Bureau of Standards, although it was mostly by pass-through money from the Department of Defense. But this thing was breaking up for political reasons, which had nothing to do with its excellence. They had many of the famous people in computing, some who came to Berkeley. UCLA sort of dropped the ball. I was always kind of envious of that operation anyway.

Nathan: Did they have lots of wonderful equipment? Was that part of it?

Bowker: They had the equipment. Their equipment probably would have been obsolete fairly soon, but they had the talent that has probably fueled most of the computing activities around the West Coast for a good many years, including people who have gone to Cal Tech, Berkeley, and other places. They didn't see it as an important discipline, and they put it in the Math Department. Forsythe himself was offered a regular faculty position when this thing blew up. The reason it blew up was that Secretary Charles Wilson --"What's good for General Motors is good for the country"-- decided that he would not put federal Defense Department money through other agencies. He was especially mad at the Bureau of Standards because they were picking on a battery additive called ADX2, which was a fraud; but he said this just showed how anti-business they were.

Anyway, he began to pull the funding. If UCLA had jumped they could have found other funding and so forth, but they didn't. So we got Forsythe to come to Stanford. He was a man of great vision. We promised him essentially a separate department, but for a year or so he was head of a group in the Math Department, which had autonomy--made its own appointments--and has become a world center in artificial intelligence. Then we did organize it separately, and then it became the computer center, and the Department of Computer Science was set up in Letters and Science.

I guess that hadn't gotten going until after I came back from Columbia. While I was at Columbia I was offered the directorship

of the Courant Institute at NYU. I guess I was; I was certainly negotiated with and approached.

Nathan: Was the Courant Institute named for someone?

Bowker: Richard Courant, the famous mathematician.

Nathan: Why did that not appeal?

Bowker: It had some appeal. It was similar to the Applied Mathematics and Statistics Laboratory. It had no probability or statistics; it had nothing that I was professionally interested in. But it was at that time a rival of Stanford in applied mathematics and in classical analysis, and it's a very significant institute. There's a historian of mathematics who lives in Berkeley whose name is Constance Reed, Julia Robinson's sister. She has written three rather famous books: one on Hilbert, who was the great father of modern mathematics; Courant, who was his pupil; and Neyman. [laughs]

Do you know who Julia Robinson is? She is the wife of Rafael Robinson, who is a professor of mathematics, and she herself was a very famous mathematician. She was elected to the National Academy of Science but never was a member of the Berkeley faculty. Toward the end of her career she agreed to become a part-time faculty member at Berkeley. Rafael was in the Faculty Club at lunch yesterday, so I guess they're still around; but they're both probably over retirement age. She is one of the world-famous mathematicians who was married to a faculty member here and therefore couldn't be a member of the faculty.

Nathan: I think that rule has finally been rescinded.

Bowker: Yes, indeed, it has.

Professional Honors and the Move to Administration

Bowker: I talked to Fred, and I decided at the time that I really would probably leave statistics as a profession and devote myself to administration, which would have been involved if I had taken the directorship of the Courant Institute.

I should mention, though, that I had had a very interesting career and had had a couple of honors which are partly, I suppose, also a tribute because of my organizing and administrative

abilities. I was elected president of the Institute of Mathematical Statistics, which is an honor. It goes to a lot of people, but, still, it's a one-year term.

Just as I was leaving Stanford I was elected president of the American Statistical Association [ASA], which is a much larger and applied organization. Most of the senior faculty members at Berkeley in statistics would be elected to be president of the Institute, and that's something that goes through to leading people in our profession. Probably not the American Statistical Association; I can't think of anyone at Berkeley who's ever been president, although there might possibly have been in the old days.

Nathan: Did you have duties as president of these associations?

Bowker: The association would run big professional meetings. It's a fair amount of work to be president of the ASA, and you have to give a presidential address, which is a lot of work. Actually, I was in New York when that happened.

Those are the two distinctions that came to me in my profession.

Nathan: Was it hard to decide to leave statistics?

Bowker: Well, I don't know. You can see that even as a statistician I'd always been kind of involved in both management and the entrepreneurial side of it.

Nathan: Right, very early.

Bowker: Very early in my career. Sometimes I wonder what would have happened, but not for very long; I don't usually regret things. [laughs]

Berkeley-Stanford Seminar in Statistics

Bowker: Continuing, though: because statistics here at Berkeley was kind of a new discipline and not fully accepted by everybody, and because statistics at Stanford was somewhat the same, we had a joint Berkeley-Stanford seminar, which we all went to every time. Now, Rose went to one yesterday, and there was practically nobody there from either department; but it was still an audience. We had dinner afterwards, and I would often have dinner with the

senior people here--Jerzy Neyman and many of his protégés, two of whom, Evelyn Fix and Betty Scott, are dead. Erich Lehmann and Joe Hodges are still kicking. Blackwell, when he came; Girshick. We all went, and we were very close. Partly we were fighting the enemy, and some of these visitors we shared.

Neyman had enormous contacts all over the world, because he had been born in Russia and had lived in Poland and probably was very Left. Anyway, he had intellectual contacts all over the world, and sometimes he'd bring people here that we were very happy to have on our seminar series--our visitors for a period, like Harald Cramér from Stockholm.

So we actually worked very well together. We were very different in personality in many ways. Neyman was a real promoter and entrepreneur also.

Nathan: Just who was the enemy that all of you were fighting?

Bowker: I mean that we stuck together. Most universities didn't have statistics departments; now they all have. So we stuck together. I remember once at a cocktail party asking Lincoln Constance, "Why on earth don't you start a separate department in statistics? We've had one [at Stanford] for many years. This is kind of ridiculous." He said, "If you had someone between you and Jerzy Neyman, would you change it?" Neyman was a little difficult. I will hand it to G. C. Evans, the long-time chairman of the Math Department at Berkeley. He had a very broad view of mathematics. He himself had broad interests and had some famous students, like Frances Dresch and Donald Shepherd in mathematical economics, and he really thought statistics and all kinds of applied mathematics were legitimate. That tradition has maintained at Berkeley and almost nowhere else; most mathematics departments are very snobbish and very pure--to their disadvantage, in my opinion. In fact, the Berkeley Mathematics Department has given a joint appointment to the famous economist here, named Gerard Debreu. The Berkeley Mathematics Department is the only Mathematics Department in the world that has a Nobel Laureate as a member; he has a Nobel Prize in economics.

Most of the mathematics departments are very jurisdictional, including Stanford. When I was there, we tried to specialize in two or three fields of mathematics. Now it's become a general math department and isn't anywhere near as eminent--in my opinion, not in theirs. [laughs]

Terman's "Peaks of Excellence"

Bowker: The main thrust of Terman's leadership and Terman's advice was "peaks of excellence"; pick certain things and put enough resources in them to be first rate. "Peaks of excellence" was his famous saying.

Nathan: That foreshadowed some of your thinking when you got to Berkeley?

Bowker: Yes. He was the best academic administrator I have ever seen, so he had a great deal of influence on my thinking. I often consulted him, even when I was back in New York and when I went to work for him for two years as his assistant and then for two to three years as graduate dean. That was somewhat different from the position of graduate dean here, although I had most of that portfolio; I really was a kind of vice provost.

The number two man at Stanford is the provost, and I was one of his deputies. Bob Wert, later to be president of Mills College was the other, although he was really kind of Wally Sterling's protégé, not Fred's.

We reviewed all budgets and all faculty appointments as a provost staff, and I had responsibilities in certain areas. But the main thing we did when Fred was provost was to look around the university and decide what opportunities there were to continue to build Stanford into a great university and where to put our resources. There were certain things, I suppose, that one would have to do. The Chemistry Department was not in very good condition, and Fred, pretty much by himself, nosed around a lot and finally decided that a couple of organic chemists named Johnson of Wisconsin and Carl Djerassi, at that time at Wayne State, could build a department. We needed to get a building for them, and he worked on a corporation to donate a building and put that all together. I think Johnson has died. I think Djerassi was the intellectual brains behind Syntex.

That was a brilliant move in some ways, and the department has had first-rate people ever since. It would not have been so distinguished when I went there, as we began to take over. Once we were talking: "We have a good History Department, but it isn't absolutely at the top of the heap." Maybe Dick Lyman was chairman then. "It wouldn't be very expensive to improve it." So we decided to do that, and we put three rather famous historians in--Gordon Wright, Gordon Craig, and David Potter. These three people immediately put Stanford into a first-rate category.

We did the same thing in English. One day I went in and said, "You know, we really have this big activity in radio astronomy, largely in engineering. I don't know how things are going to happen; maybe we should think of astronomy." Fred said, "I don't really think so. For one thing, we'd need an awful lot of optical equipment, and we don't have it, and it's pretty expensive. Cal Tech and Berkeley and other places are well established. I really don't think we could compete." I kept arguing--electronics might be the way to make astronomical observations in the future. He said, "No, I don't think so. I just think it would be too expensive. We'd never be very good, and we'd waste a lot of money." He was right.

We felt we had to be good in certain languages. Stanford never made up its mind about classics. We started to build a Classics Department, and it kind of fell down. That would be a lack, I would say. We didn't have a great one when we were there, and we built it up with a few appointments, and then it kind of waned again. I don't know how it is now.

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Bowker: We didn't think too much of the Stanford Business School, and Wally more or less shared this. He may have recruited a local banker or businessman who showed some interest, Ernie Arbuckle. We put a lot of resources into the Business School and told him to build a good one, and I think he did; it is a distinguished Business School today. Certainly in the East it has a better reputation than Berkeley with some, but I don't know if that's fair.

I actually took a very direct hand in upgrading the School of Education and hired, in cooperation with the dean, three or four professors, and we put in a new dean. There was Kronbach and two or three other people from the Midwest who were really research people; and I built in a mathematics education component, and so forth. These were all pretty distinguished people. Glaser was one, and there were a number of social scientists. I think it would be considered by most people that Stanford had the best research-oriented School of Education at the time and for a period after that. As I say, I've never been sure in retrospect that that was sensible, but it was part of the pattern of the way we thought about things; research was important, teaching wasn't. [laughs]

Nathan: It's interesting that building research was your goal.

Bowker: The fundability of research was also important. In the case of computer science, for example, one of the factors was that with all the government money floating around we would be able to have strong research support in computer science. That wouldn't be true in all fields; it was true in chemistry. We struggled off and on with geology, and I don't think we ever did really move there. It was so-so, we thought. It was a big school. I don't know; I'll have to ask Mark Christensen whatever happened there.

In other words, generally we went over each area of the university, and where there seemed to be the possibility of distinction, we put in some resources. We strengthened the Departments of Sociology, Anthropology, and all the professional schools. The strategy was, in the first place, that when we thought an area wasn't very good, we would hold up filling appointments for a period of some years. I wasn't there very long, so it couldn't have been too many years.

Nathan: What were you waiting for?

Bowker: To get a critical mass in order to make several appointments at once to be attractive to people. One of our famous successes was that we decided to start a Biochemistry Department in the Medical School, and we made an offer to Josh Lederberg, who was then at Wisconsin. He didn't accept, so then we made an offer to Arthur Kornberg, who came (both of these people were to be Nobel Laureates) and let him build up his department. After we had done that, Lederberg called up and said, "If you have the kind of place that hires Kornberg, I would sort of be interested myself." So then we hired him [laughter] in a different department. One was called Department of Biochemistry, and the other was something else.

So if there was something of that quality available, the money was always there to do it. I remember the same day we made the offer to Kornberg, sitting in on a meeting when Fred turned down the request from some program for another half teaching assistant, saying that we couldn't afford it. Then we spent about \$75,000 in the next half hour. It all depended on what it was.

By and large, the move of the Medical School to the campus wasn't terribly well handled. We really were kind of nosed out of it. We disagreed on the first few clinical appointments.

I think Stanford was hurt by some of its early appointments. I had worked out, as you point out, a lot in the Medical School myself and then started a bio-statistics group, so I knew a little bit about it. And I was fairly friendly with the head of

radiology, Henry Kaplan, who was a very strong appointment. Not all the clinical appointments at Stanford made in the early days were first rate, and I don't think that Medical School has ever had the status of, say, San Francisco or UCLA; but it's obviously a good one, and they've done better since, although they've always had a hard time there. I really don't know much about it today, but it's always been a tough one.

We weren't terribly satisfied with the way things were going there, but, again, in the basic science area we made big, big improvements. Probably in some ways they overshadowed the Biology Department, although we tried in the Biology Department; we brought in a couple of people. Don Kennedy was there; he is always kind of a star at whatever it is he does, as he was then. And we brought in a fellow in biochemistry who is now a senior official at San Diego.

Nathan: When you would bring people in, was it in consultation with the faculty of the department or the chair of the department?

Bowker: Yes, we had to work with the chair, but most people would say that if you got an opportunity to make a distinguished appointment, they would take it. We would often approach the chair and say, "Well, we're willing to listen to some serious talk." There was also the dean of Letters and Science, who was heavily into many of these moves, who, when I first went, was Clarence Faust. He had come from Chicago and was not part of the Terman establishment. Then there was Phil Rhinelander, who Wally brought in from Harvard with the idea of pepping up undergraduate education. Then there was Bob Sears, who was from an old, distinguished, academic family, too. His son, I think, is dean of something at UCLA--social sciences, or maybe the whole arts and sciences. Bob had been chairman of the Social Relations Department at Harvard and then was chairman of Psychology. He was dean most of the time of the Terman regime, and he was compatible with Terman's views and values.

It was in consultation with everyone, but it was clear that if you were willing to go for quality and had a rational plan, we would help you.

Nathan: Did the board of trustees have to approve any of these?

Bowker: Not really. They were sort of peripherally involved in a lot of this stuff. One of them, married to a Chandler, came in one day and said he had decided, "We're first in science, we're first in engineering, we're first in this and that; we're going to be first

in Americanism." He had a few ideas which we managed to bury. Yes, the trustees were a little testy sometimes.

I remember when David Packard was chairman once when I was there. Of course, he had been a protégé of Terman; Terman had actually helped finance Hewlett-Packard with the royalties from his textbook. We brought in some building project that was probably a hundred percent over budget and two years late, and Packard said, "Jesus Christ, what a bunch of stupid--I can't stand it." Wally was away, and he turned to Fred and bawled the hell out of him. Everybody came back doom and gloom; what were we going to do? I was elected, so I went to see Packard. I said, "David, nobody can talk to Fred Terman that way, not even you. You have to call and apologize." "[shouting] All right." [laughter]

Nathan: And he did?

Bowker: Of course he did. It's true; no one can talk to Fred Terman that way.

Nathan: You were pretty brave to be the messenger.

Bowker: Somebody had to do it. [laughs] I didn't have a lot to do with the trustees. I think Wally considered me more of a back-room boy, but he was very smooth and very good with them. I remembered that later, because I got into a fight in New York and was out of office for a while. So Jim Hester, the president of NYU, called me and offered me the number two job at NYU, and I turned it down; I didn't think I wanted to do that. He said he had just talked to Wally, and Wally told him I was a great man, but he might occasionally have to remind me who was boss. [laughter]

I was sort of young and determined to get my own way on most things, and did. But not everything. Sometimes Terman and I disagreed. I would always be in charge of bargaining with people in the Economics Department, because he couldn't stand them. You know the way economist are; they like to bargain. Once I was arguing with them for about an hour and half over a five-hundred-dollar raise for someone, which I had agreed to. I mean, it was several thousand plus the final five hundred, which clinched the deal. Fred wouldn't approve it; it wasn't worth it. He had papers, he had numbers, he had arguments. Finally he said, "Oh, well, Al, if you have to have it, you have to have it." [laughs] I said, "I have to have it."

Perhaps I'm exaggerating a little bit the role of the central office, but Stanford really was run by a handful of people. I was

always working closely with Bob Sears and with most of the chairmen who were powerful and important. We had a couple of big fights about things. We never thought that things like the jet propulsion lab at MIT, the rad lab at Livermore, and classified laboratories like that were very helpful or really worth it. So we had a policy against running big government installations.

One of the reasons the Stanford Research Institute was started was to take on whatever seemed appropriate in that area, and it never ran big things. It had lots of projects and lots of consulting. I guess it was okay. It never seemed very important in my day, but it since then has made enough money to give the university some, so I guess that's worth something. Most people there take it a lot more seriously than I'm saying.

Decisions: Linear Accelerator and Three Physics Departments

Bowker: We decided, however, to go for the linear accelerator.

Nathan: Was that fully government funded?

Bowker: Yes. That's roughly comparable to LBL [Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory]; it's a two-mile-long gadget down at Stanford which, at the time it was built, was the largest accelerator and the most advanced. Wolfgang Panofsky came down from Berkeley to head it. We had a small linear accelerator going that the Physics Department had built also with government money. This was, I suppose, Atomic Energy Commission funded. It would be like one of the laboratories; in a way, though, it's more like Brookhaven and the super collider in the early days of the cyclotron up here, rather than like Livermore or Los Alamos.

Anyway, we had stayed away from big government activities of any sort. They were not integrated with the academic program. If anybody who wanted government money was a professor, he could get it, and we would support it if we had the space. We began to hire people, first to build the accelerator and then do experiments on it. The Physics Department, which had strongly supported the accelerator, refused to give these people faculty appointments. Also they wouldn't let them use the existing accelerator. It was always done under great moral values. I just thought it was an outrage and that they were behaving selfishly and foolishly.

Felix Bloch, who was a Nobel Laureate and very distinguished --and whose daughter, Natalie Bloch, is a professor of something

or other here--and Bob Hofstetter, another Nobel Laureate, came in and argued that it was immoral and irrational and so forth to let them use the existing accelerator; that it was against values and principles and so forth. There was a terrible fight, and they threatened to resign if we forced the issue. Fred and I wanted to call their bluff, but Wally overruled us, maybe correctly. We were pretty tough.

So we started a department. There are three physics departments at Stanford; I'm not sure what they're called--maybe high energy physics, physics, and something else. We also started a Department of Applied Physics, which came out of the microwave laboratory and had more gadget-minded people. One of the main figures there is Art Schalow, who was the co-Nobel Laureate with Charlie Townes on the laser. Schalow is also Charlie's brother-in-law. And there were people who were active in microwave devices and other things.

So we had three physics departments. I spoke a few years ago at the anniversary of the Applied Physics Department, and all the chairmen emphasized to me how well it was working.

Concern Over Commercializing

Bowker: That was one of the big fights we had. We had a fight over appointments in the Medical School. I really was a little uneasy about the increase in commercialization of Stanford. I don't know; Djerassi bothered me some, because he was running big government projects, as we expected him to do, running lots of graduate students. Somehow he was involved with patents at Syntex, and I don't know; it all seemed a little too close for comfort. Now he's a multimillionaire, so I suppose it all worked out all right. Fred was a multimillionaire by now.

When we built the linear accelerator there was some criticism of the fact that we were using Ginston. He was a key figure who had been a professor of physics and had taken over Varian Associates because Russell had gotten ill. We were using Ginston a lot, and we were buying a lot of klystron tubes from Varian. Somebody said that didn't look quite right. I said to Fred, "That's getting a little close to home." "Oh, that's ridiculous," he said, "I own a lot more Varian stock than Ginston does." [laughter] I said, "I wish you hadn't told me that. What would you do if there was a conflict of interest?" He said, "I would do

the right thing," and he would, too. He was the all-American Boy Scout.

What happened was that right after the war he started writing a book, called Radio Engineers' Handbook. He had a good salary, and they lived very simply. This book was used by every engineer in every country in the world, so he had all this royalty income, and he never had any use for it. So he put it into Hewlett-Packard and to Varian and other places; he helped these companies get started. I don't really know how much money he had in the end, because I've never been told; but it must have been a lot.

Looking for a Change

Bowker: Well, why did I leave? It's a little hard to tell. Partly I was getting kind of tired. Somehow, when you're in control of the government money and when you're in control of the industrial relations and all of that, and you're running the show, it's one thing. I was very much influenced by this fight with the physics people. Hofstadtler and I had been very close friends, and now he wouldn't speak to me. I had gotten a divorce; my first wife was somewhat disturbed, and I had custody of the children.

Nathan: How old were they?

Bowker: They were in junior high school or maybe finishing elementary school. My son had been sent to a prep school. I don't know; I thought I really would like to try a college presidency, but one that was sort of consistent with my needs and interests. I interviewed at a couple of places. One was the University of Rochester. On the way home I went on to Washington and came back and stayed overnight with the Wallises in Chicago. I told them I had just been to the University of Rochester for an interview a week before. He said, "That's funny; I just accepted that job this morning." Anyway, he was president of the University of Rochester. [laughter] It wouldn't have been a good job for me.

I had at this time acquired a young couple. The boy had lived with us for his first two or three years. He was a Spanish exchange student. The fraternity had brought him over as an exchange, and then he lived with me and helped me with the children. There was an English student and his wife who also lived there and helped me. Anyway, this boy got married, and he and his wife sort of agreed to come back to New York and keep house for me. The girls were fond of them.

Nathan: Before we get too far away from your children, would you like to give their names?

Bowker: Nancy and Caroline are twins, and Paul is my son. He is older slightly. They were all born in Palo Alto.

Nathan: They are pretty much grown up by now?

Bowker: Yes, the girls are forty-one, and Paul is a couple of years older. They all live here in the Bay Area.

Nathan: Are they academic types?

Bowker: No, none of them. [laughs]

Nathan: That follows very often?

Bowker: Well, it does and it doesn't. I think Caroline might be, but she's a doctor, and she's chosen to emphasize practice. She had some experiences which kind of soured her on the academic world when she was a student. She was involved in some of the sexist crises at Stanford, which have not improved a great deal since she was a student, but a little maybe.

I probably thought I was never going to be president of Stanford, and I probably saw that I didn't want to be. There was a kind of precious quality to Stanford which bothered me a little bit. I thought I really would like to try something in the public sector. In some ways I've been happier in the public sector.

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Bowker: Let me say one more thing about Palo Alto. After I was divorced, I had a few men friends and a few other friends, but it was really a mama-papa community.

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Bowker: I was really bored socially. Irving Howe, the critic, was getting a divorce, and he came out to Stanford for a couple of years. I had dinner with him some, but practically all my friends were couples. It just wasn't a very pleasant life for a single adult. I think it's better now, and better in Berkeley. Divorce was quite unusual in the circle in which I moved. I met a few other divorcees, and there were usually reasons for that. [laughs] I just didn't find it very pleasant. Probably I should have gotten married again sooner, but I didn't.

Nathan: You were ready for a change.

Bowker: Yes, yes. It was hard on the children; there's no question about it. But in the end they went to Dalton School in New York, and Paul gave up his school in Arizona and came to the Collegiate School. They had very good educational experiences, and I think on the whole were reasonably happy with it. But the adjustment was very difficult and, of course, harder than I thought.

VII CHANCELLOR, THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK (1963-1971)

Bowker: The City University of New York had been essentially founded in 1961 and had had a chancellor. The City University of New York at that time really had been a collection of city colleges, seven institutions; four senior colleges: Brooklyn, City, Hunter, Queens, and three community colleges: Staten Island, The Bronx, and Queensborough in Queens. It really had never been an integrated institution.

Graduate and Professional Work

Bowker: What does it mean if it's changed from a collection of colleges into a university? That means graduate and professional work, presumably. They were looking around for somebody as their second chancellor who had a record in graduate work particularly.

The people who knew me were Mina Rees and Ruth Shoup. Ruth Shoup was a graduate of Stanford, as were her three sisters (named Sneden), one of whom was Pat Sears, the wife of the dean of Letters and Science, also a professor at Stanford. They were all important in the Stanford community. Her husband's brother was the professional head of the Alumni Association. The Snedens were an old Massachusetts family, and the Shoups were an old California family, one of the railroad families. So they knew about me, and I had worked under Mina Rees during the war, so she knew me. And a few of the other people knew me.

After a certain amount of shenanigans, I decided to accept the CUNY job, without really knowing what I was doing. I moved back East, and the Spanish couple came with me and kept house with

me for about a year. The girls were entered in a public junior high school up in the Bronx. After that I got married again, to Rosedith Sitgreaves.

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Bowker: Anyway, I had decided to try this job. It really was very hard. Bob Wagner was still mayor when I went, and he became a good friend and remained so all his life. I liked him. But the board he has appointed through the years was of mixed quality.

Nathan: The mayor appoints the board of the City University of New York?

Bowker: Not now, but he did then. Rockefeller was governor, and he was interested in building a great state university and pouring money into it.

City vs. Upstate

Nathan: The City University of New York, then, would be in competition with the state university for funds or prestige?

Bowker: For funds, possibly. But not direct competition in the sense that the state university, except for a few professional schools, doesn't operate in New York City. And the City University operated only in the city, with a few little exceptions, so it was city versus upstate. Governor Rockefeller was interested in higher education generally and really believed in it. Wagner hadn't done a lot with it, but I got him very interested in the university in his last two years, and he maintained that all his life. He was on various boards and task forces and so forth that connected with the City University until he died last year.

Nathan: How did you go about getting him interested?

Bowker: Partly through his staff. His senior advisor, who later became my political advisor, was Julius Edelstein. New York basically respects intellectual activity and intellectual people more than one would think. When I was there, and it's still probably true, the Jewish population of New York was the predominant political force. Most of the students in the City University were Jewish, most of the faculty were Jewish.

They wanted education; the resident Jewish immigrants in New York have always been the strong beneficiaries of and strong

supporters of higher education. There were probably more Catholic voters in New York than there were Jewish voters, but the Jewish people controlled the press, the city council, the legislature, and the milieu in which Wagner operated.

He himself had gone to Yale, I think. Wagner's father had gone to City College. He believed in education. Health had been his big interest, but he had put a lot of money into the system, and he thought he ought to have some education backing. The school system at the time was about to erupt into enormous racial explosions--Ocean Hill, Brownsville--and the mayor would always pretend he had nothing to do with that, although he did appoint the board. But he could distance himself from the board.

My real task was to start graduate work. You asked me how I got Wagner interested. I don't know, I just kept him interested. I went to see him, I explained things to him. The chairman of my board was very resentful of my speaking for the university and my actually dealing with political figures. He wanted to be a judge. It had sort of been true that the chairman of the board of education from time to time had been appointed a judge, and this was a sort of a way to be a judge. He had given, apparently, at some critical moment in its history, some money to the Liberal Party. Bob always kind of kept the Liberal Party and Alex Rose in his back pocket. So it was kind of touchy.

Expanding the University and Centralizing the Graduate School

Bowker: But I kept pushing both the legislature and the mayor for more and more money to expand enrollment. No planning had been done for the big bulge that comes after the battle--this was the bulge of the GI children coming along. We just had four colleges and I forgot how many students. It was totally inadequate to the needs of the city. We were not responding adequately or hardly at all to the recent wave of immigration to the city, which had been blacks from the South and Puerto Ricans from the slums. We had practically no black enrollment and an all white, heavily Jewish and Irish student body in a city that was becoming increasingly minority. I just said, "We've got to expand."

The expansion of the university was, in a way, my biggest achievement. I did start a graduate school, and I centralized it. This was very difficult, because each college wanted to be chosen as the chosen instrument. It would be like taking the University of California and taking the Ph.D.s away from Davis and Santa Cruz

and Berkeley, and saying they were all going to be off over here somewhere. Well, it wasn't like that; none of them had Ph.D.s. But each Ph.D. that was created was put in a central location, in a way. The faculty were supposed to be joint with the colleges, and some were and some weren't; but most were.

Some of the faculty there were as distinguished as any in the country in paper and pencil fields. The English Department was extremely good, the History Department was extremely good, the Mathematics Department was extremely good. Physics and chemistry were not, and I didn't try to centralize those. I tried to have a central planning group and then different laboratories in the different colleges.

Anyway, we started Ph.D.s in dozens of things. A few were ranked even as the best in the country, like Portuguese. Within New York State, the graduate school is a lot more distinguished than I thought it would be. It really worked well, and we had good people as chairmen. Mina Rees was the dean. Before I left, I made the graduate school a separate institution and made her president of it, so it would be institutionalized and have its own budget.

Women Students and Faculty Members

Bowker: It still is very good, and it's especially good about women. It's been a great place for women who are housewives or who are in New York for some reason or other, largely because they're either single or married. [laughs] Either way, it's better to be there than elsewhere. No, I'm serious in a way.

We had very famous women on the faculty. For example, probably the most famous woman anthropologist in the country next to Margaret Mead was Hortense Powdermaker. She was at Queens. She came out here when she retired. We had famous people at Queens. We had Helene Neustadt in English; Gertrude Himmelfarb, who just got a national award, was at Brooklyn. We actually had a very large number of distinguished academic women in the country there, which is interesting.

I wrote an article on that once. It isn't true any more, but an academic woman had two choices, really. She could go to the Seven Sisters, or she could go to a big city like New York. The number of people in 1963 at Berkeley or Stanford who were women would be negligible. Many of them were married to people who were

other professionals. Many of them were single, but it was still better to be in New York than Palo Alto, which is a very dull place for a single person. It really is. And Berkeley was only so-so.

Bowker: I was talking over at the Faculty Club about how I know several people who have moved to Stanford from Berkeley because their wives are at San Jose State University or at UC Santa Cruz. It's very typical. Whereas in New York you may not be married to another college professor but a lawyer or doctor and so forth, and it's easier for professional couples.

So we had some very distinguished graduate programs in humanities and some that were pretty good in the social sciences, good in mathematics, and so-so in the sciences--not too bad, but not ranking.

Nathan: Did the funding come from the City of New York?

Bowker: When I first came there, the funding for the university came from the city, except the state paid the cost of teacher education plus some fraction of the budget of the community colleges. It was changed while I was there, and it's been changed since. Let me come back to this question.

Funding for Physical Facilities and Tuition

Bowker: The biggest problem I had was physical facilities, both for the graduate school and for the colleges. The capital budget of the City of New York had no possibility of doing anything serious for any of the institutions, and they were real slums. I mean, awful buildings, under-maintained, old. So I devised a plan to create an authority--Rockefeller was very big on authorities--kind of like the Triborough Bridge Authority. That wasn't his; it was Robert Moses', but we had the State University Construction Fund, we had the Mental Hospital Construction Fund.

For example, they built mental hospitals in New York by the following device: they charged a fee for occupants of mental hospitals, and most of them couldn't afford to pay it. But then there was an appropriation to pay the fees of people who couldn't afford it. The fees, however, were pledged to amortize construction bonds, so-called revenue bonds. You couldn't appropriate public money directly because there was a

constitutional limitation on the amount of borrowing you could do directly. Nobody believes this, but it's true.

So a lot of these authorities in New York are ways to transfer public money into pretend private money. I proposed a system for the City University of New York, introducing a tuition which would be a dummy tuition, and practically no one would have to pay it. My board was absolutely furious about this.

Nathan: Why were they upset?

Bowker: "Oh, there's a free tuition" has been the big rallying cry in New York. They ordered me to bury the plan, and I released it to the New York Times.

Nathan: Were you daring.

Vote of Censure, New Board, and Legislation

Bowker: They met without me and passed a resolution of censure. I got together with the president of Brooklyn College, Harry Gideonse; the president of Hunter College, John Meng; and my deputy, Harry Levy. We got together, and we resigned on a late Friday night. I had said I had to think it over; I was in my forties and had children in private schools and so forth. That really was a gutsy thing to do. On the other hand, I remember getting up on Sunday morning and looking out the window (we were on the second floor; we had a brownstone on 95th Street), and there was my picture in front of every door up and down the street, on the front page of the New York Times. [laughter] It was fairly dramatic.

Well, all hell broke loose. The legislature started an investigation. Some of the very powerful people on my board started circulating rumors about me that weren't true--my income and one thing and another. Anyway, I agreed to return if the chairman of the board resigned and if someone else was made chairman. When he resigned about six other people went with him, so I got a chance to make a new board.

Nathan: You got the mayor to appoint the people you wanted? Was that how it worked?

Bowker: Well, yes. I didn't pick them, except the new chairman. He wanted me to come back, and the faculty called me and urged me to come back. I came out to [UC] Santa Cruz with Rose and talked to

Dean McHenry. We decided we might move to Santa Cruz. They thought I was bluffing, but I really thought I wouldn't go back. I just said, "The board can't meet without me, period. It's not acceptable."

After a lot of hemming and hawing, Bob Wagner, who was still mayor but going out of office, came and met with the board and told them to rehire me and meet my conditions, which was nice of him. It was great fun. [laughs] We were great friends in a way. I hadn't told him I was going to do all this. That's the kind of thing people in New York love--resignations, crises. [laughter] Nothing is ever easy.

Nathan: But you did come back?

Bowker: Yes, I came back after a while. Then the committee was chaired by Manfred Orenstein, who, if you noticed in the New York Times today, has had his indictments finally lifted by Morgenthau, the D.A. of New York. Manfred was then a young senator, and he started a hearing. There were still people against me who stayed on the board. There was an old man named Charlie Tuttle, who had been a famous lawyer in Breed, Abbot, and Morgan, one of the big law firms in New York. He had actually run for governor against Franklin Delano Roosevelt at one point. He started in on me, but it turned out that he and the chairman didn't make any sense at all in the hearing; they didn't know anything about it. And the young legislators, led by Manfred Orenstein, made a hearing that led to what is a bill, which was really my biggest triumph in New York.

This bill first set up the City University Construction Fund, more or less along the lines that I had suggested, with fees; the evening sessions always had charged fees. All the fees of the university were put into this fund, but it was also supplemented by state and city contributions. We changed the funding of the senior colleges of the university to fifty-fifty, city and state.

We introduced something called the SEEK program, a big Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowledge. It was a big minority-oriented program--scholarships, tutoring, and so forth. It was a very comprehensive bill, and it took months to get through. The SEEK program got the Black Caucus. The blacks supported me. I had gone out of my way to cultivate the black community, first Kenneth Clark, who was the leading black figure in many ways in New York at the time. Then the Watsons were a very distinguished black family, and Arthur Logan.

Rockefeller sort of kept his distance from me, not right now but in the beginning. I had a little trouble getting in to see

him. One night he was running for something, and he was speaking at the Logans'. He came in and started talking, and someone asked him, "What about Chancellor Bowker and his plans for expansion?" He said, "I wish I knew what the chancellor was up to." I said, "Well, I'm here, governor; I'd be glad to tell you." [laughter] When he saw I had the blacks, he was all right.

Nathan: The bill eventually passed?

Bowker: It passed, and he signed it. He hated Orenstein; he really didn't like him. In the first place, in order to get the bill passed we had to change the name of it from the Orenstein Bill to the Travia Bill; Travia was then speaker of the house. Fred [Orenstein] agreed to it. I always thought he was a wonderful person; still do. When he was in trouble in New York, I called him and we had lunch. I said, "Any time you need someone to talk about your good character, you've got one." I always thought he was fine. (Of the other two also involved in the case, one also went to jail, and the other one is dead.) There were three young legislators who took this on as a crusade. We passed the bill, and the governor signed it. We were pretty good friends from then on--up and down; he's a touchy man.

The next year we appointed a community college president in the Bronx who was black. I called and said I would like to have the governor speak, and they said he was too busy. I said, "This is the first black college president in New York." "Oh." He showed up, and we had a great talk. [laughs] Well, he knew. Lindsay, of course, was mad, but he can't have it both ways. They hated each other. By now Lindsay was mayor.

Lindsay didn't help too much in the beginning of all this, but he did in the end; he had to. Then he got to reshape the board, so he consulted me; he really did. He put people like Frank Keppel on the board. He was dean of the School of Education at Harvard, one of the last gentleman deans, as he says, and commissioner of education in the Kennedy administration. A very major figure. Lindsay put Fred Burkhardt on the board, who was the former president of Bennington; he put Nils Wessel, who was head of the Sloan Foundation. It changed the board from a bunch of bums into a bunch of fairly respectable people. It isn't too good an idea to put too many educators on the board, but they behaved. Ruth Shoup, of course, was kept on the board. I had Lindsay put a couple of students on the board, and then I owned them. [laughs]

No, I had the board. I had the most marvelous chairman, whose name was Porter Chandler. It's just hard to describe him--

one of the brightest people I've ever known. He was an aristocrat in a way; his mother had been a Wadsworth, which is the main family of New York, and he had a big place in Genesee, up near the Wadsworth family. He had married a Catholic and converted to Catholicism, apparently very upper-class. He used to say, "I have to go have dinner with old Mrs. Auchincloss tonight." He was the Cardinal's personal attorney; he was a senior partner in Davis, Polk, Wardell, which is one of the biggest corporate law firms in New York. Just a marvelous person.

He was a widower at this time. He was a contemporary of, and sort of similar in some ways to Larry Walsh, who is the investigator now. Larry had retired and was brought back. Porter died, but he would have been about that age in vintage, a man of commanding stature in the legal fraternity and in the Catholic Church. And a very nice man, a man with time; his wife had died, his children weren't around. He lived quite near where we all lived on Madison; he lived on the corner of Madison and 79th Street, we lived between Lexington and 3rd on 79th, and the university headquarters was at 80th Street and East End Avenue. Nils Wessel lived on 79th Street, and Frank Keppel lived a couple of blocks up the street. Well, we had to have representation on the board from Queens.

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Bowker: The threat of no room for new freshmen then was part of my pressure to get the construction fund bill passed. It took a while for the construction fund to get organized and then amount to much, and it has been, I think, one of the not-very-well-known ones. It's spent about \$2.5 billion since it was founded. It built some beautiful new campuses all in New York City, mostly not in downtown, although Hunter College has two enormous towers that are quite visible. Most of those colleges really have beautiful physical plants as a result of all this, but this was twenty--goodness, that was probably '65, so that was a long time ago.

Nathan: When you were working to get people to accept these ideas, did you have p.r. people to help you?

Bowker: Edelstein had become my political advisor, and yes, I had a p.r. man named Hank Paley, who was quite good. I had the union; I had Al Shanker. I formed a citizens' committee to support this with the head of the United Parents' Association, which was very important then; it isn't now. And Shanker, who was head of the teachers' union, was the co-chairman. I had strong support from Harry van Arsdale, who was very important. He was head of the building trades, probably the most powerful labor person in New

York, and building trades are in favor of construction. [laughter] I had the support of most of the good government groups. Yes, we worked hard at mobilizing support. I had the Times. If you have the Times, you have the Times, and if you don't have them, you don't have them; it's either one way or the other. So I had the press; once you have the Times, you have the press.

Nathan: Did you deliberately cultivate the Times editors?

Bowker: Oh, sure. Well, Fred Hechinger is a City College boy, and he was on the Times. I used to see the Times people socially quite a bit, not so much the Sulzbergers, though on occasion. Yes, Punch always supported me. A. M. Rosenthal I think was city editor then; Abe Raskin was the labor editor. We still see Abe when we're in New York. Yes, we were good friends.

I had the blacks. I cultivated--and we were still good friends until he died (and we've been friendly with his widow since)--the editor of the Amsterdam News. He was a good friend of mine; I had the Amsterdam News. That was the SEEK program, and he always said it was settled in his office. It could be. And I had Kenneth Clark, Skiz Watson, who is now a federal judge but was then the leading black legislator. I had Percy Sutton. I had the blacks. I worked hard at this; I mean, I went around to everybody. Nelson gave in.

The Chancellor's Fund

Bowker: By the way, there's a funny story. At the last minute, he put an item in this bill for \$500,000, called the Chancellor's Fund, which was to be given to me directly to spend without any controls. Sam Gould, who as president of State University, was of course furious, and I was, too. I wasn't furious exactly, but I had the legislation amended to have it deposited with the controller of the City of New York and be subject to audit. [laughter] But what a lulu!

Nathan: Oh, that's a wolf trap right there.

Bowker: [laughs] It sure was. I don't think it occurred to Nelson that people with small amounts of money like that could get in trouble. I really don't. But to me, the thought of New York City having \$500,000 that was purely discretionary and not audited was just--

[laughs] it was funny. He got mad at me later about something else and cancelled it.

Whenever we had some little thing that had to be done every now and then, I'd say to take it out of the Chancellor's Fund.

Nathan: It wasn't maintained at \$500,000?

Bowker: Yes, every year, and I used it for entertainment some. Everything was audited. But one day Nelson got mad at me and cancelled it. I don't know that it is a very important story. I had a chauffeur, called an MVO--probably motor vehicle operator--who was a civil service employee. He had such overtime, because I worked all the time, that he used to go to Europe in the summer. One summer I rented a house in the country, after the university bought me a house, and I wanted to be driven; I was driven up there all the time. Everybody else was, too; there wasn't anything wrong with it. We had another car, and Rose drove up usually by herself, and then I came up at the end of the day or later.

For some reason my chauffeur was away, so I told them to get me a student to drive me up. They got a student, but he was somehow under eighteen and couldn't rent a station wagon that I wanted, because we were going to move something from the house to the country. So Rose went and rented the car, and the student drove us up to the country. We unloaded whatever it was, and he drove back and turned in the car. But somehow, the way it came out was the Mrs. Bowker had rented a car for the chancellor to move things to the country.

After I was appointed at Berkeley and had been here about a year, this big scandal comes out in the front pages of the [San Francisco] Chronicle: "Chancellor Bowker Misuses Funds."

Nathan: I saw that headline. I thought it was goofy.

Bowker: The reason I remember it is that I walked into the Bohemian Club for lunch that day, and Wally Sterling was sitting in there. He yelled across the room, "Al, Al, does Rose have any time this afternoon? I need some things moved to the country." [laughter] It was a funny story. That was carelessness on my part, I suppose; I didn't think anything of it at the time.

Nathan: It doesn't seem too major somehow.

Bowker: You know, Nelson got mad at me because of student demonstrations. He thought we were paying for them from the Chancellor's Fund, and

I hope we weren't. At least he never could prove it, and I never could find out. Once when I had a budget crisis, somebody mobilized students, and it got out of hand. They chartered bus after bus and went up to Albany and tore the place apart, ruined the lawn and screamed and yelled up and down the corridors. Now, this happens every day at city hall, but somehow in Albany--. Nelson got furious, and he decided I had used Chancellor's Fund money for this purpose.

So that year, I was about ready to leave anyway, he cancelled the Chancellor's Fund at the last minute. He sent in an emergency message at 11 p.m. one night, cancelling the fund. I didn't even know about it until it was all over. And then he told the people to find something to discredit me, which they never did succeed in doing. Thank God I had the God-damned thing controlled by the controller. It was such a silly thing. Anyway, those are sort of irrelevant stories.

Summary of Accomplishments

Bowker: I think one of my big contributions was starting the graduate center. The second one was this change in funding formula and the construction fund and the SEEK program; that was really very important. Then I kept adding institutions. When I left there were twenty institutions; when I came there were seven. There were already plans on the drawing board for two new community colleges, and I opened them promptly in '63.

Then I decided to take the embryonic program in criminal justice and make it into a college, so I founded something that I called the College of Police Science. It became John Jay College of Criminal Justice, which is still a very distinguished place. I separated the Business School from City College and made it an independent institution; that's Baruch College. I started a new college in Queens, York College, in response to the Jamaica community. I started a new college in The Bronx called Hostos College; Eugenio Maria de Hostos is the hero of Puerto Rico; that's a community college in response to the Puerto Rican community. I separated The Bronx campus of Hunter College from Hunter and made it a separate institution; it's Lehman College. I started an upper division college in Staten Island called Richmond College, which has since folded. I affiliated the university with Mt. Sinai, although it's largely private; its official name is Mt. Sinai School of Medicine of the City University of New York. I

founded a wonderful little community college in Queens, La Guardia Community College, which has always been one of my favorites.

Nathan: What is there about it that you especially like?

Bowker: Well, I liked the president; he was one of my protégés. It was all co-op, and it just seemed a wonderful idea to take the kind of population we had in New York, give them work experience as long as they were working. It has also started two or three high schools that it runs, one called Middle College, and then a high school. It's been a very imaginative and innovative place. I guess the first two, Kingsborough and the Borough of Manhattan, were on the drawing board, and I started those. They both have beautiful campuses now, just gorgeous. Kingsborough is out on an edge of Coney Island with absolutely beautiful beaches and views.

The last one, I guess, was Medgar Evers. It had been a big project that Bobby Kennedy was involved in, and Paley and a lot of people in New York, to do something about Bedford-Stuyvesant. Franklin Thomas, now president of the Ford Foundation, was the staff director. One of the things they wanted to do was have a college, so I started a college out there. John Lindsay was furious with me, but he couldn't stop it. It was called Medgar Evers, and it's still going.

So I founded, I suppose, thirteen colleges in eight years. That's pretty fast. Maybe it would have been better to have done it slower. With this expansion was an introduction of an open admission policy which offered a place to every high school graduate; it has been widely criticized. But it isn't all that different from what we have in California, given that there are seven community college. There are some differences. All the senior colleges took a certain number of people with marginal qualifications originally for reasons of racial integration, which is no longer necessary; most of the colleges are all predominantly black now--not all of them--or Hispanic. They're changing because the city is changing. The immigration to the city is not predominantly black any more; we're getting Asians, a lot of Russian Jews, all kind of people from all over the world, particularly from Central America.

Open Admissions

Nathan: With this open admissions policy, how is the graduation rate?

Bowker: Pretty low.

Nathan: Any efforts to support or help the students?

Bowker: Lots of efforts. It's hard to know. It was started with great fanfare and lots of support in tutoring and counselling. Then the budget crises came, and it's really been eroded to some extent. The support services are so-so. There is a lot of literature on this subject. There's no question that there were a number of people uncovered and given an opportunity, who would have been overlooked in terms of tests and high school grades, some of whom are important figures, some of whom have gone to Harvard and gone to Law School. It's also true there are a lot of people who drift in and out.

The average age of the student body has increased fairly steadily. I would guess that the able undergraduates from the city colleges in the city now probably go out elsewhere to the state colleges or more conventional institutions. Not entirely; Hunter has had quite a comeback in the middle of Manhattan. An awful lot of people come back to take a degree or take a course or two. The average age of students there is probably in the late twenties, rather than at Berkeley where it would probably be twenty for undergraduates.

There's a lot of literature evaluating open admissions. It came in part because we had with the SEEK program and one of its predecessor programs a very strong preference for minorities. In a way it is a lot more sophisticated than people have here. To be eligible for these programs you had to be a resident of an officially designated poverty area at the time there were such things. So there were no explicit racial criteria. One of the programs I had that preceded this was called The Top Hundred. The top hundred people in every high school would get into a senior college. Well, it had something going for it.

The senior colleges like Queens and Brooklyn maintained pretty high academic standards. City College, in the middle of Harlem, has had a lot of problems with its College of Liberal Arts. There's been a lot of white flight from City College, and most of the people who write about this are City College graduates who are mad. The School of Engineering at City College is like ours; when you walk through it, it's half Asian.

In the end, the open admissions policy was strongly supported by the church, by Harry van Arsdale. One of our trustees was one of the trustees of one of the electrical workers foundation, which put money into scholarships. It was just clear to everybody that the way the thing was working, the blue-collar ethnics were not going to get their children into college. They strongly supported open admissions, and they've benefitted from it enormously. It was really labor that wanted this.

After I announced this policy, we were in the middle of a mayoral election or approaching one, there was a very famous regent who came who had a big estate in Purchase, New York, Carl Pforzheimer. He called me and said, "I have a message from Nelson." "What is it?" "Well, you can go half way. The way you are now, to pull open admissions, he's not going to swallow the whole thing in one year." I said, "Tell Nelson I can't stop it now. It's gone too far." [laughs] He went in to the regents, and Max Rubin and Kenneth Clark were now regents of the State of New York. The regents endorsed it, although Carl had brought the message not to. It couldn't be stopped.

Then the governor's secretary called me. "Okay," he says. This time it was clear that John Lindsay, who had endorsed open admissions--Markey, who was the conservative Republican, had endorsed open admissions, and Proccacino. I think Lindsay was running on the Liberal Party ticket then. Proccacino may have been the Democratic nominee, and he endorsed open admissions; he was against it, but he sort of endorsed it. So the governor's secretary called me, and he said, "I can't believe it. You know, Lindsay's going to get elected. We're going to have to go along with this." I said, "You're right." [laughs] Whoever thought?

So that was a policy. Whether it was an achievement or not is for history to tell. I think it was. I mean, it was certainly an achievement; whether it was a good idea or not to go that far, there are many who think it wasn't.

I haven't talked about my individual doctoral students, but the number of students and young faculty that I helped develop at Stanford was a great source of pleasure to me.

Talent in the Central Office

Bowker: I was able to continue that at CUNY in a way. I had a really extraordinarily talented group of people in the central office,

some of whom were my executive assistants, some of whom were my vice chancellors. Mina Rees, of course, is president of the Graduate Center. My vice chancellor for academic affairs was Timothy Healy, a Jesuit Priest, just stepped down as president of Georgetown University where he's had a distinguished career. My vice chancellor for budget and planning was Ted Hollander, who was most recently chancellor of higher education in the State of New Jersey and one of the major SCIOs, as they're called--state coordinating officers in higher education; he's been very active in that movement. My deputy was Seymour Hyman, who is president of a small college in New Jersey.

My executive assistants included Bob Birnbaum, who was president of a college in Wisconsin and a distinguished scholar of higher education; he's been a professor both at Teachers' College and the University of Maryland. Joe Shenker was president of La Guardia and now president of Bank Street. Joe Meng was my executive assistant, now vice president of Boston University. There were others. I had probably a group of talented people, at least for the central office, as good as any I've seen anywhere, and that includes here at Berkeley. The trouble is that those central office jobs are basically dull. You sit around there and shuffle papers. It's all right to do it for a while. Much of it bored me when I was chancellor. So you're not going to get sparkling people.

At CUNY, the headquarters was where the action was. I was sparking new colleges, new ideas, in the papers every day, fighting with this one and that one, stirring up everybody. It was pretty exciting. If you ran the New York Times references on me, they'd be this [demonstrates] thick because I had the Times. When I left, the Times criticized the mayor for my leaving. It said that if he had been nicer to me, I wouldn't have left. [laughs] Either you have it or you don't have it with the Times.

I had wonderful trustees. Many of them are still friends, and many of them are now dead. It was quite exciting. When I had a chance to go back there and do some elder statesman observation, I was very interested to see what it was like.

Nathan: This was after you had become emeritus at Berkeley?

Bowker: And at Maryland and elsewhere. My successor was a fellow named Kibbee, who had been a vice president of Carnegie-Mellon. He had actually grown up in New York; he was the son of the movie actor and looked exactly like Guy Kibbee. He kept the university together. Then he was succeeded by Joe Murphy, whom I had appointed as president of Queens and who had been president of

Bennington when I was on the Bennington board. I went on because Joe asked me to; he was an old friend. He didn't do quite as well as I had hoped. Now Ann Reynolds has that chair. It's not so long; she's doing very well so far. Joe did pretty well; he just never was tough enough with the political figures. He let them cut the budget, and he didn't cut enrollment enough.

Nathan: There is still that kind of balancing?

Bowker: You have to know what to do. Gardner--this has nothing to do with this discussion--thinks he's done very well this year; \$400 increase and a freeze in enrollment.

Nathan: Any cuts?

Bowker: No raises, but he thinks he'll be protected from that stuff, so we'll see.

Nathan: We didn't get to your writings, and they are important.

Bowker: Maybe we should have one more session and go over some of these things.

Nathan: Yes. That's a good idea.

VIII BERKELEY REMINISCENCES

[Interview 4: September 6, 1991]##

Nathan: When we first met you mentioned two cases in which certain decisions had to be made. One was the Platt case, and the other was the Harry Edwards case.

Tenure for Harry Edwards

Bowker: Harry Edwards had been hired by the Sociology Department probably before I was chancellor, I'm almost sure, although it doesn't sound entirely reasonable in terms of the fact that I was here for nine years. He was hired as an assistant professor of sociology. They wanted a kind of New Left minority sociologist, I guess, or whatever they wanted. He had been at San Jose State and had been an Olympic athlete and had been involved in protests.

He came up for tenure. The campus was in a conservative mood, and the Department of Sociology was sort of split. By and large, the faculty establishment at Berkeley probably didn't want to give him tenure, and I did. It was quite a controversial decision on my part.

Nathan: Would you say a little more about why you felt he should have tenure?

Bowker: I felt that his scholarship was, in fact, adequate or satisfactory; he worked on the sociology of sports. There was a feeling of equity involved, that he had been hired to fill a certain role on the campus and had done that. There was never any misrepresentation about who he was. The fact that the campus had maybe changed its mind a little bit seemed to me capricious, since

he'd been hired. He was the highest paid assistant professor by far and had been given all kinds of incentives and support, with one exception and possibly two.

Every black member of the faculty wrote in support of his appointment, and they are not a very radical bunch; at least they weren't at that point. I myself, whenever I differed from the budget committee--you asked me earlier when I differ from them--it was usually on the basis of University service, maybe even occasionally on the basis of teaching.

I felt that as far as I was concerned, he had been a useful role model for the black athletes, and in several particular instances had been quite useful. The black athletes were hustling at the bookstore; there was a minor scandal when I was here. Somebody gave them charge cards, and they ran up big bills. He bawled them out and straightened them out. He always told them when they were off on the wrong track. I felt he was a useful citizen of the campus and that he deserved to get tenure on the basis of fairly long service at this point to the campus.

So I called it the way I saw it. There wasn't a big stir on the faculty. Several people, some of the liberals on the faculty, wrote me and said they disagreed with almost everything I had done up to now except this. [laughter] Not quite that, but they had always disagreed. Looking back on that and on much of my career, I think a lot of people have tried to put a lot of my decisions into some kind of ideological framework: liberal or conservative, or Right or Left. I think I have my own views, but I think I have always tried to do what was in the best interests of the campus. In this case, I thought this was in the best interests of the campus and of its academic values.

I don't particularly seek this kind of embrace, but that same week after I made the decision I attended some ceremony, probably the swearing-in of Lionel Wilson as Mayor of Oakland. Willie Brown came up and hugged me and kissed me. [laughs] It just wasn't the high point of my life. It gives you an idea of the sense that this issue had, not only in the black community on campus but all through the city. It was one that was significant in terms of the public image of the University, and there were several regents who were boiling mad. [laughs] That's the way it goes; that's what the chancellor is for, the flack-catcher.

Library Cutbacks and Commitments

Bowker: I think there was another issue when I first got here; I still remember there was something about the library. The library had announced that (these are all kind of minor things) they were cutting back on evening hours because of the budget. There was a big flap in Sacramento for some reason. Somebody called me, possibly Meese, or maybe Verne Orr, the budget director: "You know, this is kind of ridiculous, given the budget of the University of California, and given what we've done for it. Is there any particular reason why the library can't be open Thursday night?" or whatever night it was. Of course, there really wasn't any particular reason. Apparently this had been written as a response by the library to budget cuts, and it had gone through my office unread and through University Hall unread.

It was kind of an inflammatory statement, so I reversed it. A group of faculty came in and was very critical. They said, "Why aren't you going to dump on Reagan?" I said, "He has just been re-elected, and it isn't my policy to dump on people from whom I am trying to get money."

Nathan: I'm sure it may have crossed your mind that the library might have been seeking to dramatize the cut issue.

Bowker: Yes, it was. But it was a few hundred dollars of hourly money for students that was at stake; it wasn't appropriate. On the other hand, Reagan made the remark, "If they're so hard up, why don't they get rid of their rare books?"

Nathan: Selling the rare books, yes.

Bowker: That really stirred the troops. Edgar Kaiser was married to, I believe, his second wife; I've forgotten the details. He was a friend, Berkeley-related, possibly an alum; I think he attended here, yes. He told me that they had flown all the way to Mexico with the governor and Nancy to the opening of a hotel which he was involved in; he had taken the governor in his plane. Nina had bawled out the governor all the way about this selling of rare books, that it was just a terrible thing to do, and how could he, since they were interested in rare books? So I got a small check from Ronald Reagan for rare books. He had a wonderful sense of humor. [laughter] I didn't say anything, but I didn't have to on that one.

Extended University

Bowker: I tried to get along with the governor, and I got a few new things. I did get funding for a part-time MBA [Master of Business Administration] program in downtown San Francisco, which was part of David Gardner's Extended University effort. It's a program that's been quite successful, I think, modeled somewhat after the one at the University of Chicago, not a typical evening program, but one aimed at serious people who had responsible positions in the banking and financial industries. That, I think, still goes on and has been quite successful.

And I got some money for these new health science ventures. So I got a little bit out of him, but not a lot.

Nathan: I'd like to ask you a little more about the Extended University. Does that lead directly to a degree?

Bowker: Yes, the part-time MBA.

Nathan: And the other aspects of the Extended University are also degree-related?

Bowker: Yes, but nothing else here. This was a statewide effort. I didn't see anything else--I played around with a part-time master's degree in architecture. I don't see any point in part-time bachelor's programs; that's a state college function. So it was only in certain professional areas that we had the master's degree. I don't know whether Hastings [College of Law] is part time; no, it's full time. There are dozens of part-time law schools all over California. Golden Gate Law School had an MBA program, but it wasn't anything of the caliber of the Business School. This was a serious venture with regular faculty going over and teaching. It was good for the faculty, too, because it gave them contacts and work in the business community.

The Business School at Berkeley had always been considered kind of an academic enterprise and not as related as to the business world as some others, so it was part of the general plan. As you know, I have a view that professional schools ought to have something to do with their profession. [laughs] The Business School here was--the criticism wasn't entirely fair, but it was sort of the image that it was kind of an academic enterprise. It was extremely strong in accounting and a few technical areas of business.

Nathan: Wasn't one of their interests to train, in a sense, for a career and not to train for the first job? That's how I have heard it expressed.

Bowker: Anyway, this [Extended University] was a notion; it was something the business community wanted and liked, and we were able to get new funding for it from the state. There were a few little things like that.

Nathan: Those were victories in those hard years.

Bowker: Yes, they were. Gardner actually was pretty effective, and remained so, with public officials, both on the Left and on the Right. I mean, he's very popular among some of the very liberal Democrats in Congress. He's pretty skilled at that. He pushed this, too. That was his initiative when he was vice president. He really was in charge of Continuing Education, which is mostly Extension. Extension is mostly non-credit, though there's some fuzziness about some of the elementary courses; they can, then, be transferred for credit. But this was a new venture.

Nathan: That's very interesting. Is there any more you want to say about this?

Bowker: No.

Civil Disobedience

Nathan: One other issue under the relationship with students: in June of '78 there was a sit-in of thirty-eight students at Sproul Hall to protest UC's interests in South Africa. You had said earlier that you did not permit overnight occupation of a building by protesters. Do you recall that?

Bowker: Not particularly, but I must have cleared them out. I should say, I suppose, that among the people who were here, the police chief, Bill Beall, was a great asset to the campus. I inherited him; I didn't appoint him. He was a great help to me and had a lot of common sense. He was very helpful to me in several situations. Probably this one he cleared out, though I don't remember it. South Africa was a big issue was later.

Nathan: This was early, and the Student Conduct Committee apparently judged that they were guilty of violating University regulations.

Bowker: That may have been the time that I took them into court on charges of criminal trespass, as I mentioned earlier, and the jury ruled that they were innocent and I was guilty. [laughter]

Nathan: Apparently you had made some statements about civil disobedience and what that meant, which involved responsibility--

Bowker: I don't object to civil disobedience, except that you have to understand that it means that you go to jail or you pay some cost. There is a cost. Otherwise the whole thing is pointless if you're not willing to pay a price for it, and a lot of them really didn't. I just don't remember this incident very much. I'm sure I cleared it out. People in Sproul [Hall] were pretty shell-shocked in the beginning, and they didn't know what to do. They panic pretty easily over there. [laughs] Well, they'd had some bad experiences, obviously.

A Working Relationship with Local Police

Bowker: My own view is that a firmer line at some point--well, I don't know; it's hard to second guess. I had a lot of experience with student trouble in New York, and I had several principles, well, not exactly principles. Every campus president in New York was asked to (I won't say ordered to; that isn't the way these things are done) be on good terms with the head of his local precinct and have them around the campus and work with the police on occasions when there is no crisis. So when there is a crisis, there is a working relationship. It was especially important during John Lindsay's administration, because the police hated him.

There was a very bloody riot at Columbia which illustrates exactly this point, although I had figured this out before. There were a lot of sit-ins and occupations at Columbia, and Grayson Kirk, who was president of Columbia, was sitting in his office, probably with Dave Truman, the number two man, with an aide to John Lindsay. John had these young aides who would go around, and I told everybody to ignore them.

Nathan: You told everybody to ignore them?

Bowker: Yes, they were a pain in the neck. [laughs] So in this sit-in, phone calls or reports would come in to the president. The president would talk to this aide, and this aide would talk to John Lindsay or somebody in his office and then call the commissioner of police, who would then call the head of the local

precinct, who was sitting right outside the door. Finally the police said, "Let's go out and break some heads," and that's what they did. That's what really caused all the bloodshed at Columbia; that was really stupid. It actually turned out that the head of the Harlem police was a personal friend of mine; he and his wife were good friends.

Nathan: Who finally decided to break heads?

Bowker: The police. They just lost their temper: "Let's go break some heads." Boy, I tell you, I would have been talking to Lloyd Seeley, the chief of police in Harlem, a wonderful man anyway. It's a little exaggeration, but they just got so mad at all of this.

After the Cambodian business, I had had to remove the president of City College because he couldn't keep the campus open. There was an acting president who was a real tough hawk, although he was a teachers union official. One night about eleven o'clock the phone rang, and it was John Lindsay. He said, "Al, City College is about to explode." I said, "Oh?" He said, "Yes, the president up there has got the police in there chasing students," and so forth. I said, "Oh, my goodness." So I called up the president and asked, "How are things going?" He said, "Don't worry. We got a few of them, but some are running this way, and we're going to catch them. We've got the police going." "Don't you think you ought to cool it a little?" "Oh, don't worry, Al, I'll get 'em."

So I hung up and called the mayor back and said, "I think things are under control." He said, "My people up there tell me Harlem's about to burst." He was a little high, I think. So was I, for that matter; I had just had a couple of drinks. So I said, "All right, I'll work on it," and I called back. I got some guy on the phone, and he says, "Oh, yeah, a few are still getting away, but we're going to get them; we're chasing them down 125th Street." I said, "Maybe you shouldn't do that." "Don't worry; we'll get 'em." [laughs] I called John, and I said, "John, go to bed. Forget it. You ought to go to bed, and I will, too. There's nothing I can do."

Changing Generals During a Battle

Bowker: The other rule was, you don't second-guess the man in charge while something is going on; you don't change generals in the middle of

a battle. That was really something I learned from Berkeley. Ed Strong took a stand, and Clark Kerr kept reversing him. Every time you do that, the students are reinforced and encouraged. You don't change. I mean, it may be a dumb stand he took, but it's better to stick by it than to waffle when you're dealing with a mob. So I said, "I'm not changing generals in the middle of a battle." [Lindsay said] "You mean your presidents are always right under all circumstances?" I said, "No, they're frequently wrong." [laughs] Anyway, this all went away; there was nothing to it.

Keeping College Open During Strikes

Nathan: I gather that one of your principles, then, was not to change generals in the middle of a battle. I'd like to hear any more principles that you evolved.

Bowker: We didn't have in New York an absolute bar against demonstrations. In the Cambodian situation we had a lot of trouble, and many of our colleges were closed. It became a political issue. I remember going down to Washington and talking to the Commissioner of Education, then James Allen. I said, "Jim, I just don't know if we can keep the colleges of this country open." Berkeley, I guess, was in a shambles then.

Nathan: You were at CUNY?

Bowker: Yes. One was the Cambodian bombing, where things erupted all over the country--Kent State and so forth. That would have been in '70. "I just don't know if we're going to keep them open. Half of my colleges are closed right now because of all this." I had one advantage over Berkeley, Stanford, and other places. By and large this was an upper-class, middle-class, intellectual phenomenon, and wasn't working-class.

Most of the students at the city colleges were from working-class backgrounds. If they started misbehaving, their parents thought they ought to be punished; they should go to school. Whereas here, many of the parents tended to support the kids. I remember talking to the chancellor of the University of Wisconsin during one of these, and he said, "If I didn't have New York Jews and faculty children, I wouldn't have any problem at all." I went on television and said, "Well, you don't learn calculus by discussing the issues or by striking. Everybody's going back," and I removed several presidents--a couple at the time.

Nathan: Did you reach into the faculty on the individual campuses, or were just the presidents the ones that you dealt with?

Bowker: Just the presidents. We had a citywide faculty organization, but it didn't amount to much. I started it partly to stave off collective bargaining, unsuccessfully, so I was always sorry I had it. No, I worked with the presidents. In a way it's a bigger system than this one, although not in enrollment by very much. But there were twenty units, so I didn't have really deep ties into the faculty. This was when the election was coming along, and one of the mayoralty candidates had even gone to court to get an injunction to open City College.

The president of City College had been a minister in Berkeley at one point in his career.

Nathan: Who was that?

Bowker: Buell Gallagher. He had been a Congregational minister here, and had been president of Talladega. He actually came out here for a few months once to be head of the state college system before Glenn Dumke was appointed. He didn't like it and went back to City College. But he was unable, in a way like Clark Kerr was, to use violence, in his case particularly against black students. He simply was unable to discipline black students, and they had to be disciplined.

During one of the big strikes that was going on at City College, a couple of Harlem ministers and some of my staff said, "You have to meet with the students and discuss some of these issues." I said, "All right, I will, but it has to be done today, and it has to be done at such-and-such a time"--like seven to eight, or something like that. I said, "The problem I have is that I'm having dinner with the governor at eight o'clock, and I have to be there, and I have to be in formal clothes; it's a fancy dinner." I wasn't having dinner alone with him, but I was on the dais with him at a banquet, and I had to be there. "So I'll do it, but you have to promise me there won't be any embarrassment if I have to come and negotiate in formal clothes."

So I go into the basement of this church in Harlem, all dressed up with these guys with dashikis. [laughs] We discussed things, and I said I would do the best I can. This was before open admissions. "I'm trying to satisfy some of your demands, but I'm going to open the college, and you guys are going to get penalized." Of course, I had police protection. In Harlem, when I was there, it wasn't safe for a white person.

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Bowker: About a week later there was a westside newspaper that had a news story: "Insensitive chancellor, coming dressed up and in his luxurious limousine."

Nathan: The issues that were related to these riots were not particularly the Cambodian issue?

Bowker: Well, they wanted us to settle the Vietnam war. My board frequently voted to do that. They were more flexible than the Board of Regents. [laughs] But it also had to do with City College admissions policy. I promised to work as hard as I could for open admissions to the university. By this time it really wasn't necessary, but--.

I mentioned to you briefly the sociologist here at Berkeley, Jerome Karabel, who wrote an article about this whole scene. He was chairman of the recent committee on admissions policy under Heyman. The Marxists have written, of course, that this was a real revolt of the masses and that the establishment was forced into doing what the students and the people wanted. He has written an analysis, and I thought a fairly interesting one, about power-making in New York. Bowker, he would argue, used such incidents to further what he had in mind all the time. So who knows? There's something to that.

I really don't think the students forced the change in admissions policy. It is one that seemed sensible to me, and I had articulated early on in my administration as an objective in the university to have a place in some institution of higher education for all students who graduated from high school, which California has.

It was done here over a long period of time, and smoothly; it was done in New York very quickly and stirred up a lot of opposition in Washington, in Congress. There are even a lot of books about open admissions policy. This article I spoke of I thought was pretty interesting.

Master Plan, Open Admissions, Race Relations

Nathan: Thinking of the Master Plan for Higher Education in California, it sounds familiar when you're talking about a slot for every student. Were you familiar with that master plan?

Bowker: Oh, yes. It was actually written near my office; not really. The chairman of the commission, who was the president of one of the private colleges, became ill while the master plan was being written. Bob Wert was vice chairman of the commission, and he sort of wrote the master plan when I was at Stanford in the sixties. So I know all about it.

Actually, a one-sentence summary of the master plan would be, "We did what Clark wanted." [laughter] This is Clark Kerr's scheme, essentially, but he had a commission to come up with it. Yes, I knew all about the master plan, because Bob was writing it.

Also at the time, I think it's much less true now, the schools in New York were going through a terrible period where there was a lot of racism. The schools in New York have always been an area where one immigrant group taught the next. I suppose the WASPS taught the Irish and Italians, and the Irish and Italians taught the Jews. But when I got there, the Jews were teaching the blacks. I'll tell you, if there were ever two mismatched sets of people in New York, there were these hard-working, upward-mobile, intellectually oriented Jewish teachers and principals and administrators all through the system, up to Al Shanker, head of the union--and these blacks from the South. It was just a tremendous cultural gap. It was unusual for any black student to get good grades. The amount of implicit prejudice in the school system was enormous.

I really didn't feel at the time that the credentials from the high schools were fair. I had a dean in my office who lived nearby. He was a Ph.D. from Harvard, and his wife was a social worker or medical technician. They went to register their children in the local junior high school and were handed a welfare application.

Perhaps I was wrong in that, but I really didn't trust the high schools and the credentialing system, and they didn't trust me very much, either. I took a lot of criticism from the principals that open admissions was taking the pressure off the high schools to make people take college entry courses and to study hard, because they knew they were going to get into college anyway. I don't know; it's difficult to say.

At Ocean Hill-Brownsville there were strikes, there were riots. The school system really was in bad shape in many parts of the city, and in the white areas it was the traditional school system. It's still not doing very much for blacks.

Whatever can be said about the policies, even though I describe some student strikes and riots that came around at the time of the Cambodian crisis (which was sort of a national thing at the time), by and large the University was not a racial battleground while I was chancellor. We just moved fast enough, and we kept people satisfied. There was some criticism of what we were doing, but we moved politically rather skillfully.

We had the explicit leadership of the Jewish community with us all along, in open admissions and in expanding opportunity. Now, those were the sixties; I don't know what would happen today. Things are much more polarized. And we had the leadership of the black community, and we had the church. That's what you need in New York.

Nathan: You apparently had also cultivated good personal relationships with these individual groups?

Bowker: Yes. We had them. They were consulted, they were listened to, and they supported us. The blacks with the SEEK program, and the unions and the blue collar workers were great supporters of both open admissions and the construction fund. I was surprised here when I came, the unions probably weren't ever very important, at how badly the University was doing in construction. Since then there have been a couple of bond issues that have helped things along, but it was just dead in the water when I got here. We even had the head of the AFL-CIO on the Board of Regents for a while, but they didn't have any clout.

Faculty Collective Bargaining and Open Records

Bowker: In New York the unions really have a lot of clout. In fact, when Rockefeller was running for governor this last time when I was there, Arthur Goldberg was his opponent; he had been general counsel of one of the major unions--steelworkers, maybe. I should know. Rockefeller unnecessarily decided he needed the union endorsement and support, so he put through a law which made it very easy for public employees to organize, the so-called Taylor Law, after a Professor Taylor of Wisconsin. It really made it very easy to organize, to show interest.

That was when we got faculty collective bargaining at CUNY, which I opposed, and everybody I know said they weren't for it; but it was voted in in a very large way. It was something called a Legislative Conference, run by a series of fairly conservative

senior faculty, kind of like the Dave Fellers at Berkeley, so it wasn't hard to deal with.

I remember telling the attorney general, Louis Lefkowitz, at some party that nobody was running against the governor; "Arthur Goldberg couldn't find his way to a phone booth, and Rockefeller's going to be re-elected by a landslide. Tell him to relax." It didn't make any difference.

Nathan: So this faculty collective bargaining issue that arose again at Berkeley was something you had familiarity with.

Bowker: Oh, yes. It's been bad for some places, like Rutgers. It wasn't too bad for us, but it means that the union has to have grievances to keep their membership going. So they grieve a lot about promotion and tenure. It tends to erode the standards for promotion. For one thing, they insist on the records being open. Well, that's been happening around the country. I know a lot about this subject, but I really didn't want it, and it wasn't a bad problem for me once we had it. But it did mean that probably some people got promoted who wouldn't have.

I had a couple of very amusing cases. The procedures for evaluation were such that you had to have people observe classes and write teaching evaluations and get letters of recommendation. You had to build a big pile of paperwork. I had a guy come up for tenure, which was turned down. He grieved, and the grievance procedure turned it down. His complaint was that none of this paperwork had been done. You looked in his file, and there wasn't much in it; it hadn't been done. In order to fire somebody, you really had to have a record not to give him tenure. If he didn't have a record, you'd give him tenure and it didn't matter. So that's what happened.

Berkeley actually was immersed in paperwork by the time I got here. That wouldn't have been a problem here. I had some other problems here. I decided we were going to stick on this one, and so we went to court.

Nathan: You wanted to deny him tenure?

Bowker: Yes. The judge made a marvelous ruling. He said, "Well, it's true that when you look in the file there's nothing in it, but tenure is too important to be conferred by procedural error," which I thought was a pretty good case. But sometimes I lost cases.

Here, with that in mind, and knowing that the personnel record would eventually be leaked and be public, I got a group of people to go through and sanitize them to some extent. Not take out basic material, but I said, "You'd better go through and make sure." We came across one file from the chairman of one of the modern language departments, saying, "We used to use women to teach these courses, but we found that the more women we had, the more trouble we had. So we only use men now." That was all I needed. [laughs]

Nathan: Talk about incendiary.

Bowker: Burn that.

Nathan: I take it that this openness of the files is not something that bothers you.

Bowker: Yes, it does. It means they're useless, almost. It depends on what your objective is. I am very reluctant to write a candid negative opinion of a faculty member. I had one bad experience, even in the good old days. I had a student who was teaching and applied for a job at the University of Chicago. I wrote that he wasn't up to being at Chicago. The department secretary showed him the letter. Okay, that was a fluke. He is still a good friend, and he ended up teaching out here at Hayward most of his career. I said, "George, I'm sorry I wrote that, but it's true. I don't think you would have made the grade at Chicago." As I've mentioned, I was very close to the Chicago department in many ways. When you know that's going to happen, and it's going to be made public and made part of a hearing, then you don't write that.

Nathan: Do you learn ways of conveying what you mean?

Bowker: Only by phone. Then in Oregon there's a law that you have to put a memo on all phone calls.

Nathan: There's a trade off there, some good and some bad?

Bowker: Well, there's equity to the faculty involved. It's very hard to turn people down for tenure, and small colleges hardly ever do it. There's too much socialization after a person has been around for a while. Berkeley does it.

Nathan: Are there warnings issued by a department: pull up your socks, publish, or something?

Bowker: Yes, there are supposed to be, but some departments are well run, and some aren't run at all. Rod Park, when he was dean of Letters

and Science, met with small groups of new faculty and explained to them what was expected, what the criteria would be, and so forth. That's probably done from time to time. Whether it's done systematically, I don't know. It's a good idea to do it.

Budgetary Strategy and Tenure at Berkeley

Bowker: In talking to the chancellor yesterday, I spoke to him in a little more detail about budgetary strategy at Berkeley. Maybe we ought to talk about that.

Nathan: That would be great.

Bowker: I mentioned that I had taken a look at the situation here and decided that we would probably add about--I have forgotten the exact number; it's in one of these documents--sixty Berkeley faculty a year. The question was, then, how many of those could be appointments to tenure and how many could be non-tenured appointments. Now, that second question is more complicated than it sounds, because it is also true that if a department has a faculty position--as they're called here, FTE--and if they are going to lose it if they don't promote this person, they will make a strong case for promotion. The big question was whether budgetary considerations would be a factor in conferring tenure or not, and whether we could devise a strategy where it wouldn't be.

That meant, among other things, that if a position was assigned to a department, it would not be taken away from the department if someone were not promoted; they would get to refill it. In the case of resignations or retirements, those were eligible for reallocation. There were not a lot of reallocations in my day, but there were some. We moved some positions from Letters and Science into the professional schools, as I mentioned earlier. It was not a terribly complicated calculation, but it took some analysis to come up with these numbers. One of the criteria was that no department would ever lose a position by not promoting or freezing someone in it. That's still pretty important.

Nathan: Was there a time limit on when the position could remain unfilled but still be held?

Bowker: No. Once it's there, it's there, if it's a junior position; if it's a senior position. Chancellor Tien mentioned that because of the large number of resignations they were able to make a lot of

reallocations. I don't know if they're really doing it, but they say they are. We'll see. He was sort of unaware of the strategy that I had before, so maybe it ought to be in the record.

That was about all. It wasn't very complicated. It was a little complicated to do the arithmetic. I told Errol Mauchlan and his staff that I wanted a model. They were kind of stirring around, and finally I thought of what I really wanted: a computer program that projects faculty size. "Oh, a computer program." They understood that. Everybody has computers now; every desk in California Hall has a computer on it now, but it didn't then.

Nathan: That almost suggests that if somebody has a bright idea for a new Strawberry College or something of that sort, this would be the time to go for it, if there are slots floating around.

Bowker: Retirements are creating a lot of slots. It's also true that some departments were over-tenured, so I put positions in, for example, to the Physics Department for one, with the notion that they knew all along that some of the impending retirements would be recaptured. It expanded the department size temporarily because the age distribution was bad. When I discussed that with some of my senior officers, they said, "Well, it's just too bad, because they mismanaged their own affairs." I said, "Yes, but the Physics Department at Berkeley has to be protected against a certain amount of mismanagement if need be. Physics is physics."
[laughs]

Fund Raising and Reporting

Bowker: What else would you like to discuss that I've missed?

Nathan: This relates to your friendship with some of the regents, particularly Elinor Heller. There was information about a fund that she and her husband, Edward Heller, had allocated to the University, and he had not been receiving reports on how these funds were being handled. Do you recall that?

Bowker: Yes.

Nathan: You had some feeling of responsibility to them?

Bowker: I forget now what the purpose of the fund was, but I think it is true that it wasn't being handled very well. I certainly repaired any damage there was.

I had a fund from the Bank of America, which they had given to Roger Heyns for something or other--academic improvement or improvement of teaching or something--and I had used it as a kind of contingent fund. When I went over there and hit the bank up for money once--it's kind of an interesting story--they complained some about this. They had some justice, because no one had paid much attention, and the truth is that I used the fund for whatever I wanted to use it for, overcommitted it every year, and then I saved it at the end of the year. I told you everybody always has a little bit of money, and that was one of the funds. I'd never spent it actually, but I'd used it ten times over.

So I made up a bunch of things I had used it for, and then I went over again. They gave me a hard time, and they went over it again and gave me a hard time. I really was getting kind of mad, because Walter Hoadley was an old friend, actually. He had been a chief statistician or economist for Armstrong Cork and president of the American Statistical Association just before the time I took office. I didn't know anything about Berkeley at that time or that I would ever be here or that he had anything to do with Berkeley. But he was vice president of the bank, and I said, "Walt, they're really giving me a hard time." He said, "I don't think they want to give money to a public institution." I said, "I'm really mad about that."

So I went to see Tom Clausen. I said, "Tom, your philanthropic people are giving me a hard time. They don't want to give money to public institutions." He said, "That isn't our policy, and that isn't true." I said, "That is your policy, and it is true." He said, "Well, let me look into it." He's a graduate of the University of Nebraska. He called me and said, "It is our policy, and it is true, and you've got a grant." [laughter] Then he came over to dinner after that. I still see him; he's around the Bohemian Grove.

I went into PG&E once when I started fund raising, and of course they were all Berkeley people, and they gave me a check for whatever it was I asked for.

Nathan: Going back to a moment to that special fund--

Bowker: The Heller fund? I don't even remember what it was for.

Nathan: No, I was really thinking of the Bank of America fund, in which you had to account for the way you were spending it. This PG&E grant, were you also obligated to report on it specifically?

Bowker: For some specific purpose, like Asian Studies, and I just transferred it to Asian Studies. I had used the other as kind of a chancellor's slush fund.

Nathan: Very interesting. You really uncovered some policies.

Bowker: Well, I hadn't paid much attention. I was having dinner the last time I was here with one of the student interns, and he said he remembers my saying once that Errol Mauchlan had finally told me where 95 percent of the money around here is. [laughs] It took a lot of digging.

Nathan: That's the culture, I think--to keep the information close?

Bowker: It was a problem, I always thought. That was really why--I never knew why; there were some other reasons, possibly. McCorkle had a big kitty of money in University Hall. I think when Saxon found out about it he fired him.

Nathan: McCorkle was--?

Bowker: Vice president under Hitch and then under Saxon. I used to be a little annoyed when I found secret pots of money that I hadn't been told about, but I went to work at it and worked Errol over. I was very fond of Errol. In fact, I'm going to have dinner with him tonight.

Nathan: He's retiring, isn't he?

Bowker: Yes, I was here, actually, for his retirement party on August 13. I came down from Tahoe and went right back.

Nathan: He sounds as though he's the man who knows where the bodies are buried and where the funds are tucked away.

Bowker: The last two chancellors have been down on him. In fact, the present chancellor removed him, although he's seventy years old.

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Bowker: Ellie Heller lived in Atherton, and she was very much involved with Berkeley and some with Stanford, mostly with Berkeley. We would go there once or twice a year to parties, and we would have her at the house; so we were friends, and any little annoyance she

had about that wasn't serious. She was elected chairman of the Board of Regents while I was here, and she had a wonderful advantage which no other chairman had. She had, I think, been a Democratic National Committeewoman. She could turn around and say, "Now, Jerry [Brown], be quiet." [laughter] There weren't many people who could. When somebody got up and said, "Madame Chairperson," she said, "I am the chairman. None of that nonsense for me."

Nathan: You might want to read her oral history memoir; it is fascinating. She has nice things to say about you. She also understands about the state and its politics. It's worth reading.

And did Jerry subside?

Bowker: Certainly.

Inviting Speakers, and the Problem of Charter Day

Nathan: We had spoken a little about your relationships with national and international figures, but I have some notes to ask whether you have had any particular criteria for inviting people to speak on campus. You decided, apparently, against Henry Kissinger but for the Dalai Lama.

Bowker: I have a kind of uneasy feeling about inviting people to speak on campus. I don't believe that I would have invited the Dalai Lama to speak, but maybe somebody did and I received him. I don't actually remember that. Once Claude Welch, who was a good friend of mine, called and said they were having a visit from Pope Shinuda at the Graduate Theological Union. He is the Coptic Pope, and Welch really thought someone of that stature ought to be received by the campus.

So I received Pope Shinuda and sponsored a public lecture for him and had a lunch for him at the house. It was absolutely fascinating. The Coptic popes go into seclusion for twenty years or so--a long period of time--as young men, so they don't know whether they're going to be pope or not necessarily. They live in a cave, and then they emerge. He said he was a little bit of a museum piece, but he was pretty serious. He had visited the Catholic Pope in Rome, and he had visited Jimmy Carter.

Nathan: He speaks English?

Bowker: Oh, yes. He lives in Alexandria.

I don't remember the Dalai Lama particularly.

Charter Day bothered me a lot. I thought it was a big nuisance. I had to have a speaker who could speak in the Berkeley environment without causing a riot. I guess, therefore, I did my best to do that and to have people who were relatively non-political. For my inauguration, which I decided to have at Charter Day, I did manage to get Jacques Cousteau to come; and if there is one person in the world whom nobody can object to, it's Jacques Cousteau. The students love him, the environmentalists love him, the fishermen--everybody loves Jacques Cousteau. He was a terrible speaker, but nevertheless, that was a satisfactory one.

Henry Kissinger, if he had been invited to speak on campus by somebody, I would have supported it. I actually thought the treatment of Jeanne Kirkpatrick wasn't good. Mike [Heyman] took an awful beating on that, too, in many circles. I would stand up for anything, but I wouldn't start it. That's true. I had Barbara Tuchman one year; she was okay. I had the prime minister of Canada, Pierre Trudeau; he was very good. The only problem we had was seals; there were some seal lovers.

Nathan: They were concerned about the clubbing the baby seals?

Bowker: That's right. But he was very good. He rushed over and talked to them. We had Edward [F.] [Ted] Kennedy, and a couple of the right-wing regents were mad; but he was successful. Dean Watkins said, "Al, why do you do all these liberals?" I said, "Come on, Dean, I've got to keep the peace."

Nathan: Did people, then, sometimes suggest speakers, and then you would choose?

Bowker: The Charter Day speaker was the only one I chose. Anyone else who spoke, I would protect their right to speak, whoever it was. I tried to do that, but I really did think about the impact of the Charter Day speaker on the behavior of the campus. Once I decided we would honor cities on Charter Day, so I had [Los Angeles] Mayor Tom Bradley. He was the speaker; we introduced him. Then I also introduced Helen Putnam, Mayor of Petaluma; and Warren Widener, who was Mayor of Berkeley. I gave him a citation and said "This isn't for you, Warren; it's for the taxpayers of Berkeley." It really brought down the house. He was delighted, too. He's a nice man.

Garff Wilson always helped with these things. The last year I was here it was the four-hundredth anniversary of Sir Francis Drake's voyage, so we decided to have Elliot Richardson, who was then our ambassador to England, and Peter Jay, who was the English ambassador to the United States, as co-speakers. A couple of other times I had had two speakers at Charter Day. I remember once that somebody cancelled at the last minute. I had two people, one of whom was Arthur Schlesinger. I called Arthur and said, "You've got to do this for me," so he did. I've forgotten who we had with him.

By and large we got through those ceremonies without too much trouble. I was actually in China during the last one, but Garff Wilson organized, as part of the ceremony, Sir Francis Drake and several of his men in costume to wander around the platform.

Nathan: Remember the fake plaque?

Bowker: Well, we were not talking about the fake plaque. We knew it was fake at the time. The ambassador from England got up and said, "Of course, this deals with England and America, and Chancellor Bowker knows where the future is; he's in China." [laughter] He was a great wit.

So we got through that. I just considered it a nuisance. It amused me that David Gardner moved Charter Day away from Berkeley; he had his first one in Los Angeles. They still have something here now.

Nathan: There's a convocation. Well, the academic procession was always rather spectacular, I thought.

Bowker: It was. Again, Garff Wilson organized it. For one thing, they had people carrying banners. The banners didn't mean anything, but they added a touch of color to it.

Nathan: The classes' banners?

Bowker: Yes, but then they had all those banners up in Zellerbach [Hall], which are just for decoration. Then they had the oldest alumnus, and he would read out what the different parties were and what the different colors and the gowns meant.

It was kind of fun, except people would try to disrupt it. We made a lot of effort. One thing we would do would be to control the tickets so no group of students could get a whole bunch of tickets sitting together. And we had the police. Nobody disrupted it too badly in my day, but no matter what happened, the

headline was, "There Goes Berkeley Again." I wanted to abolish it and change it to a television program, but no one would let me. We'll see what happens to it. The truth is, public ceremonies like that are less and less important; fewer and few people go to them. People watch television nowadays. We could have some kind of public television, we could still have people march around, but we could have a smaller, controlled audience.

Once Berkeley, not when Warren Widener was mayor, adopted Havana as its sister city. The mayor, Gus Newport, called me and said they had done that. I said, "That's nice." He said, "The mayor of Havana is going to come to visit Berkeley, and of course you won't let him speak on campus." I said, "Of course I will; of course I will. If you get the mayor of Havana, he can have any auditorium he wants." The mayor of Havana would have more sense than to have anything to do with these nuts. I wasn't worried about that. Of course that was the end of that. Berkeley's mayor was trying to create an incident.

I House Films and a Library Exhibit

Bowker: There were right-wing speakers.

I tried once to censor speeches and films at International House. I said, "This is your living group." There was a bunch of Arabs and radical students who were showing PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] propaganda films at I House, and I said, "You can show PLO films on campus, but I don't know why you have to have them in your living group if it's offensive to you." He denies it, or says he can't remember it, but Louis Heilbron, the present vice chancellor's father, was on the I House board, and he really chewed me out. He's a great lawyer for freedom of speech and is a liberal, so that faded away.

Charlie Hitch actually called me once and said that they were very upset about these PLO films on campus. For some reason, their child converted to Judaism, and they were in a big stew. I said I would work on it, but there wasn't anything I could do about it, obviously.

Nathan: It's very interesting to know what you can do something about and what you can't.

Bowker: Every now and then, when things got out of hand, Glenn Grant, my executive assistant, would say, "People think you ought to move on

this." I said, "Well, issue a statement, then." The statement would be, "The chancellor is looking into it." [laughter]

Nathan: If I remember this particular House flap, the issue was partly who would be allowed in to see the film. So it became very complex; there were lots of issues, and who could untangle them?

Bowker: The worst crisis I ever had was absolutely inadvertent. The librarian, who had been appointed about the time I was and I really liked him, had allowed a group of Armenian students to put up an exhibit in the library. It was largely devoted to genocide of Armenians by Turks. The Turkish government protested. I thought it was inappropriate for the library; it was quite a political thing. I told the librarian either to shut it down or give the Turks equal time or something.

Then the Armenians all over the state began to yell and scream, so I met with the Armenians. In the middle of it I remember Nick Petris calling me, and he said, "Al, you know I never interfere in things, but one thing is true: you can't trust the Turks." [laughter] He said, "You can only be elected president of Greece by running against the Turks."

It went on and on, and the librarian was furious at me for censorship.

Nathan: Was this Joe Rosenthal or his predecessor?

Bowker: His predecessor, Dick Doherty. He went to Michigan. I liked him, though I did pick Joe Rosenthal. He came from New York Public Library, where I had a lot of contacts. Dick Doherty was a very good professional librarian. He just didn't like it here. He didn't like being part of a system; he didn't like having priorities in part determined by University Hall. He was kind of independent and a little scratchy.

Nathan: Whatever happened? Did the Turks get equal time?

Bowker: We just sort of compromised. The exhibit was revised slightly, and I agreed to do something about Armenian Studies in the University, which I don't suppose really ever happened. I just talked it through with people, which is what you had to do. It did seem that the exhibit was a bit one-sided without having a strong view.

There are a lot of things like that that come up all the time at Berkeley; everybody is fighting with everybody else. Given the student body we have here, students from all over the world, it's

not so surprising. One night a group of students who were members of the drinking society that has a little hut up the hill got drunk and came down the hill. They walked across the top of some cars in the parking lot, and then they went over to Chabad House and kicked down the sign, yelling, "Hitler was right." So the president of Chabad House, needless to say, was in my office.

I said, "There's really nothing I can do about it. I know what they're up to." I read a lot of novels, and I had read a lot of the Meyer Levin novels. I had just finished one about the Hasidic Jews in Brooklyn, so I said, "I have just finished the novel My Name is Asher Lev." He said, "That's the story of my life." So I managed to change the subject. [laughs] What was I going to do? I disciplined some of them, of course.

A lot of prominent alumni belong to the group. Every time I landed on them, I'd hear from Sandy Hoagland and various people. I'd say, "Sandy, in your day maybe you could get away with this, but you can't today." He's still a very good friend and a supporter of the University. But he knew what happened already the next day.

The day after I disciplined the ringleader, I got a call from his mother: "Al, you'll never be able to show your face in Woodland again. We're going to boycott Berkeley." I said, "Come on now." "Boys will be boys," she said, "It's just harmless pranks." The next time she saw me, she kissed me; so it was all right. I wasn't really very tough on that kind of behavior, but that really was not politically correct--as we never said in those days.

Nathan: Yes; do you have thoughts about political correctness? I don't know if that's a term we should use.

Bowker: I mean drunken behavior and disruption--they had to be disciplined.

Nathan: Would that be a suspension or a reprimand?

Bowker: This kid eventually got in so much trouble he was expelled; I don't think it was for that. He may have been suspended for a quarter or very likely told to move from his house.

Nathan: Do the deans have some disciplinary responsibilities?

Bowker: There was Bob Kerley, and we had a couple of lawyers around who looked at these things. It's the dramatic ones I remember.

I really felt that at I House--the students in I House were offended, and you just shouldn't have to look at this stuff in your own home. But I was overruled. No great matter.

Writings

Nathan: Are we ready to talk about some of these interesting things you have written?

Bowker: I started my professional career fairly early. At Stanford, when I was on the faculty, I was chairman. But I had taken on the continuation of this work from the Statistical Research Group in Industrial Statistics, that would be the book with Henry Goode on Sampling Inspection by Variables. Then several other people wrote articles with me, Lieberman for one. Engineering Statistics and the Handbook of Industrial Statistics were textbooks; they weren't scholarly books. Engineering Statistics for ten or fifteen years had a very substantial influence and was studied by many, many engineers in the country; Chancellor Tien studied from that book, he tells me, as an undergraduate.

I keep bumping into people who did. We have never brought it up to date and computerized it, so it isn't too modern at the moment; there are a lot of new things that should be in it. It still sells two or three thousand a year, I guess, particularly in Canada and South America. There's a Spanish edition and an Asian edition, and there may be a Russian edition, too. It was a fairly major book at the time.

Nathan: Are you at all tempted to update it?

Bowker: No, I'm not currently involved with it. Lieberman was my student and now provost at Stanford, too busy to write books.

Then I wrote some professional papers on multivariate analysis. I read a joint paper with Rose, my wife. We were graduate students together and had been in touch. She worked at Stanford some, too, in my laboratory.

I really have written very little. I've written a few things on education, but I really have not written very much through the years and am not much tempted to write today.

Nathan: Well, you had a great deal on your plate all those years.

Bowker: I've given speeches, and there are certain documents that have been written about me. There's a lot of literature about the New York days. There was even a play about open admissions, in which a faculty member is forced by social pressure to give A's to black students. It was quite a negative play. It wasn't a big hit. [laughs] It wasn't politically correct.

Nathan: Do you particularly like working in collaboration?

Bowker: I have done mostly. I guess so. I usually write my own speeches, although I guess in New York my political aide would occasionally do a draft of the speech for me, but I would usually rewrite it. I don't give a lot of speeches, and I give the same speeches several times, usually. If I bothered to put one together, I tried to make it a multi-purpose speech. I've never been a particularly good speaker. Mike Heyman, on the other hand, loves to talk and is always good on his feet. I became better as time went on, and I usually was fairly funny. I tried always to be and often succeeded, but usually short and funny.

We were talking about Elinor Heller; she was bitterly opposed to honorary degrees and even thought the Berkeley Citation was inappropriate. I got her to come to Charter Day once; I said, "I have to have you there." I turned around and said, "I'm going to give you a Berkeley Citation, and I just want you to understand, Elinor"--or probably I said "Chairman Heller"--"the chairman of the Board of Regents has lots of authority but can't decide what we do at Berkeley." [laughter]

Nathan: Did she submit?

Bowker: Oh, she came up and took it, of course. She wouldn't have come if she had known.

I still remember trying to think of something to do when I introduced [Edward F.] Kennedy. I said something like, "What a wonderful challenge to be carrying on the great tradition of this great family." I couldn't say anything good about him; he was sort of in the dog house at the moment for something--maybe Mary Jo Kopechne.

The John Kennedy thing was before I got here, when he came out with Robert McNamara and other people, and they had Charter Day in the stadium. I had seen the little tape of it, and it was kind of fun. I was talking to Ed Strong one day, who is a nice man, and I said, "I just saw your picture." He said, "You know, I've never seen it." So I had him in and had a showing for his

benefit. But the relationship between him and Clark [Kerr] was not very friendly.

Nathan: You will probably enjoy Chancellor Strong's oral history memoir from your own experience and the story he tells.

Bowker: I didn't know he had done one.

Nathan: Just before he died. I think you would see a lot in it.

Faculty Appointments and the Budget Committee##

Nathan: Your ability to find and attract the people that you wanted in specific slots apparently was very significant. I wonder if you care to say a word about what it is you look for in professors and what it is you look for in administrators. Are there certain qualities?

Bowker: I don't think I had a great role in attracting professors. If there were distinguished persons that the campus was trying to promote, I would agree to interview them, and I would agree to talk them into coming to Berkeley. It was probably more often that I was pulled in to keep people from leaving. I remember when Aaron Wildavsky was thinking of leaving, and I spent a fair amount of effort unsuccessfully on him; he did leave.

The reason I mention it is that I had learned that when people leave that you really want, put them on leave of absence. The job he took in New York blew up, so he was eligible for appointment at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and every major university in the country. You can't go out and hire anybody anymore; you have to have an affirmative action search. I called him up and said, "Come back." He was on leave, so I didn't have to go on a search. So anyone I really wanted, I always put on leave when they left, even if they weren't coming back. He did come back and has been a useful member, one of the more distinguished members of this faculty in political science.

I would help. I had some discretionary money, so I'd up the ante if that was necessary. The procedures here were rather cumbersome, and sometimes when people were negotiating, they'd have to agree to make an appointment by a certain date at a certain salary. All of that stuff had to go through the budget committee, and I had to consider all their recommendations and

answer back. So when it was absolutely necessary I would give private assurances that I would support the appointment before all the machinery had been gone through; but I didn't do that very often, and I was never caught at it. Sometimes you have to move; somebody has to know. I'd say, "Okay, you can tell that person that it's definite. They won't hear for a couple of months, but it's definite."

Sometimes you just have to answer. The Law School had a special salary scale, and it wasn't too much of a problem, but the Business School and the Engineering School always wanted one. The rest of the faculty didn't want to give it to them, and David Saxon never wanted to give it to them. I think he may have eventually done it. In essence we had to have it, and the budget committee was often unhappy with those salaries, but we did what we had to do.

Nathan: These are really over scale?

Bowker: Yes, or accelerated. Once I wrote to the budget committee and said, "It looks to me like a lot of the people you have over scale aren't worth it any more. Don't you think you ought to reconsider people who are over scale and not give them raises?" They wrote back a nasty letter: "Once over scale, always over scale."

By and large I felt I had reasonable relations with the budget committee. You'd have to ask them, but certainly the chairman was always very friendly. Berkeley in my day has not ever had a very sharp division between the faculty leadership and the administration.

Nathan: People go back and forth? Is that what you're thinking?

Bowker: Partly people go back and forth, partly I met with the faculty committee chairman regularly and with the head of the Academic Senate regularly and told them what I was going to do. Of course, I wasn't doing a lot. Now, we didn't have the stresses and strains that Roger Heyns had. There was a certain amount of tension in those days.

Selecting Administrators

Nathan: When you were bringing people into the administration, naming them to their posts, what was it you wanted from them?

Bowker: I didn't recruit an awful lot of people actually, but in terms of the provost I wanted good academic management, and I wanted improved academic management in the professional schools particularly. The College of Letters and Science--I don't actually remember. I never knew Rod Park before he was the dean, and I guess he probably was the establishment's choice for being dean. He actually came in ahead of Mike Heyman, though he and Mike had been friends for a long time and were very close.

In the case of the deputy, it was becoming clear that I was going to have to spend more and more time outside the University and on fund raising. I guess I wanted someone who could really be the chief inside operator. Mike wasn't really terribly experienced as an administrator, so that was a bit chancy. But he was a man of energy and ability, and I thought he could do it. He ran everything that I didn't keep my own hand in. I'd say, "This is mine; stay away," but he ran everything else. I didn't have to delegate to him formally, and we worked very harmoniously together.

It's a little bit hard to say. I really wanted people who would work together. I hate bickering in the central staff. Whether that's just me or whether I picked people who were able to get along. I certainly didn't pick "yes" men; no one could ever accuse me of that. [laughs] But I also wanted people who would carry out what they were told if I made a decision. I didn't want people to work around me or try to undermine my positions, and I don't think they ever did. On the other hand, most people are people I inherited.

I've always had an executive assistant. There is a difference between New York and Berkeley. In New York I could always have an executive assistant for a couple of years and make him a college president or a senior person somewhere. That wasn't available here; we weren't expanding, so I had a more or less permanent executive assistant. There really was a lot of responsibility in that position. All my mail was seen by him and by me but handled by him. I would get a Xerox, and on the Xerox it would be noted where it had been routed. Occasionally I'd change it.

He also ran the office in that sense. One of the weaknesses of these offices is that the budget office reviews everybody else's budget, but nobody reviews their budget, and they always build themselves up. Errol, whatever his virtues, had no self control on salaries for his staff or number of staff. We had to do that. All the vice chancellors--everybody who would report directly to the president--had their budget reviewed by my

executive assistant, not by somebody else that they worked with. So he was slightly unpopular in space allocation and in the president's office.

In New York one time I actually created the title of vice chancellor for the Chancellor's Office. It's a little high-faluting. He was scheduling me, and he said that was a pretty important position. You need someone who is devoted to the institution, who will work harmoniously. I've never had close personal friends among at least the senior members of my administration. I mean, I had never met the Heymans before. We were friendly socially, and I'm very fond of them. I became very fond of Mark Christensen, and we are close friends. He went to Santa Cruz and then returned to the faculty here. In fact, I always used to stay at University House until the last couple of years. The Heymans didn't live there for a while, but when they were there I always stayed there when I was in Berkeley.

Nathan: Did you feel you were under any pressure, let's say, to put women and people of color on your administrative staff?

Bowker: Yes. That's sort of a weakness of my regime, isn't it? I did ask Herma Kay if she wanted to be a vice chancellor, before I picked Mike, and she said no. She had just finished a term as head of the faculty senate. It is true that there were no women in my inner circle. Norvel Smith was a cabinet member. He wanted to be vice chancellor for student affairs, and he was an excellent administrator and a fine man. He had one disadvantage; he didn't like students. That's a little unfair, but he wasn't used to these spoiled brats. He was a poor boy. I don't think I spoiled my children quite as much as the average Berkeley student, but I knew what the middle class values were. He had no children. He wasn't always comfortable dealing with all these kids. But he was a wonderful administrator, and he ran things well, so he was in my cabinet.

Colie [Colette] Seiple, of course, was a factor in the Alumni Association. I worked harmoniously with her. When I went to Washington, I worked for Secretary Hofstetler. I worked for women. I had appointed two women college presidents in New York, two very interesting women. One was Jacqueline Wechsler, president of Hunter College, who was a former nun. Sister Jacqueline had left the order and had been president of Webster College. Mina Rees was president of the Graduate Center. Minorities--I had a good record there in New York, but here not so good. I suppose I've always been more comfortable in the company of men in administrative positions. It's partly the kind of age

in which I grew up; women weren't much of a factor in the academic world in my formative years.

Nathan: That's very sage. Yet you've certainly gotten along with a lot of women--Elinor Heller, Jo Miles.

Bowker: Yes, we were friendly with Jo. After all, Mrs. Bowker was a professor at Stanford, and a number of the young women faculty members would come and talk to her about problems of tenure and roles and this and that. She was actually very popular here, as far as one could tell, with the faculty and even with the wives, whom she ignored according to some people.

Nathan: That was probably an oversimplification.

Bowker: She was pleasant. She used to go to the things; she just could never remember anybody's name. But that was all right. Actually, Mrs. Steidel was a great help to her in those matters.

Building an Academic Community

Bowker: I think building an academic community is important. I tried to have students and faculty at all appropriate events at the house. I mentioned a couple of them. Particularly when we had these distinguished foreign visitors, we'd usually have the head of the senate and some of the student body officers. They all kind of liked me in the end. There was one boy named Mike Aguirre, who was the president of the student body. He was around for years and years, and finally I said, "Mike, if you will promise to leave, I will have you and your parents to dinner." [laughter].

He first was an undergraduate, and then he went through Law School. He was here in politics indefinitely. Oh, he brought his parents over. He used to come over and say, "You know, it's been such a great experience for me to be able to work with the chancellor and Rose." He really infuriated my wife. [laughs] He would drop in.

Keeping the University in the First Rank

Nathan: Well, you had your laughs at Berkeley as well as your serious times.

Bowker: There were serious moments. I suppose in the end the thing that I thought about every day, almost, was, "Am I really maintaining a university of the first rank with the erosion of funding and the erosion of the physical plant on the campus?" I must say, it was nip and tuck for a while whether Berkeley could survive, and it wasn't entirely clear when I left that it was going to go on. It's never entirely clear; it's really a battle every day. You have to be well funded, you have to have first-rate faculty, you have to have the right environment.

Faculty move mostly for prestige and status, not so much for money. I mean, the money is part of it, but it's the general milieu of the department. It is an honor to be a faculty member of Berkeley, and you have to keep it that way. So you think a lot about the competitive battles you lose and the people who leave and why and what could you have done.

I reviewed carefully every major departure from the campus, and I worried about it, because I hated to lose people. Curiously enough, the biggest problem I ever had was Princeton; Princeton really could get people from here. I had two or three losses to Princeton, but not so much otherwise. Harvard was not much of a problem for us.

But that's what this game is; that's what this place is. It's a collection of some of America's greatest scholars, and you can slip. You can't slip fast, which is lucky; these things change slowly. I felt in the end that I left Berkeley as good as or better than I found it, and that's about all I could hope to do under those circumstances. I couldn't build a lot of new things with the level of funding I had from those great lovers of higher education, Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown. [laughs]

Nathan: Just watching the cracks and the crumbles and shoring it back up is a very big job.

Bowker: It really is, and that's probably really why I left. It had seemed very hard to me for nine years. Mike lasted ten. He said he had to last a year longer to show he was a better man than I was. But I don't think he could have done it much longer. He was getting tired and heavily committed to development activities, which I spent a lot of time on toward the end of my regime but not in the beginning. I don't know whether that can continue or not; that's a lot of work. But the momentum is there; we'll see. The chancellor wants to continue, but it takes a lot of time.

Nathan: If you had any words of friendly advice to the chancellor, what would you say?

Bowker: I think the academic management of the place is the thing to worry about, particularly now with this new retirement policy. It bothers me in several ways. The replacement of high-salaried people by low-salaried people sounds good and sounds like it's saving money, but the money that I had was often from--it sounds silly--the high-salaried people on leave. About 14 percent of the Berkeley faculty would be on sabbatical every year, and another 10 or 15 percent would be charged to the lab or to a research unit or contract. So there was an awful lot of money floating around that was a so-called temporary budget that you could count on year in and year out and spend on teaching assistants, teaching associates, lecturers, visitors, and also on other things. Now that looks pretty tight to me. There's more private money.

Berkeley runs itself, and the machinery and the bureaucracy here is such that if the chancellor doesn't intervene too much he could be generally considered irrelevant. All the appointments flow from the departments to the deans to the budget committee. One of Mark Christensen's problems at Santa Cruz, when he went down there, was that it wasn't set up that way. So if the chancellor didn't actually do things right, they weren't done. He had made an appointment, I think, without going through the budget committee. It couldn't happen at Berkeley, even if the staff were trying to do it. The secretaries who run California Hall wouldn't let it happen; they know what's right. So there's a good bureaucracy here, maybe too much sometimes, but it runs well.

Nathan: But the larger picture, the worrying about erosion and so on, the chancellor has to do that?

Bowker: Yes. The big ones, and if there were new directions--which there weren't, really, in my day, except a few things around the edges that I tried to push--the chancellor would have to take the initiative in those. I suppose I pushed the University a little bit toward the Pacific Rim Studies area, but that seemed fairly natural.

Institutional Politics and Constituencies

Bowker: There is a down side to a lot of decisions that you make. I think my talent has been to see both the pluses and the minuses. When I was dissatisfied with someone's performance and wanted to remove him or wanted to turn down a recommendation or wanted to fire somebody, I wouldn't always do it. My dissatisfaction was one

thing, but how the community reacts, how the alumni will react, all have to be taken into account.

For example, as I mentioned, in the case of Mike White, after I had decided that it really wasn't going to be possible for me to work with him, it would not have been possible to fire him at that moment without difficulties. It was the wrong time anyway, and I didn't think of it. You've got to think that you've got this constituency: those alumni, these fund raisers, this, that, and so forth. I think we finally let him go after a particularly unpleasant Big Game, which in itself wasn't very important, but at least he was sort of in the down period of popularity then. There were still consequences, but at least they were minimized.

It's this kind of sense of institutional politics as a whole and all the constituencies of the University. I still remember the other decision I made when I cleared out Haviland Hall that night when it was being occupied. There was no question that it was an unpopular decision in my immediate circle and in a large part of the campus, but I just kept thinking about the regents and the newspapers and the editors and all of those people out there. What they really wanted to see was a new regime at Berkeley and a tough one. I just didn't see how I could face the public, even though I had to overrule my own people.

Nathan: That was a hard call, I'm sure.

Bowker: In the end the faculty really liked the restoration of order on the campus. They really did [laugh] in the end, although if it had failed--. [laughter] In the end most people thought we were better off to be very strict with what were called "time, place, and manner" regulations, and to stick to them. Because once you waffle, then some people will take advantage.

I guess that's about it. Thank you for accommodating my schedule. I guess you're pretty tired, too.

Nathan: It takes a certain amount of effort, but I will say that it has been worth every minute. I'm delighted with what you have done and appreciate this valuable account. Thank you.

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Mr. Albert H. Bowker
10450 LOTTSFORD ROAD, #1117
MITCHELLVILLE, MD 20776 20721

Harriet Nathan
Regional Oral History Office
The Bancroft Library
University of California, Berkeley
Berkeley, Ca 94720

Dear Mr. Nathan,

Thank you for your letter of September 9.
I am enclosing a copy of my vita. It is
reasonably up-to-date. I have not been very
active professionally since 1983, although I taught
a course in the Spring of 1987 at Barnard College
in New York for someone who was ill.

The following people might tell you some-
thing about me:

- 1) Mrs. Yila Carnichael, 21 Plaza Drive,
Berkeley, who was my social secretary (and a
friend) when we were at Berkeley.

2) Professor Ingram Olkin²⁰³ of Stanford University,
in the Statistics Department and the School of
Education, with whom I worked, and

3) Professor Millie Almy, who is a retired
professor in the School of Education at Berkeley,
but was a colleague at Teachers College.

By chance, we both came to Berkeley in 197

I will see what I have in reprints.
We have moved a couple of times, and I am
not altogether sure where they are.

Sincerely,

Frederick Sitgreaves Bowles

I have always worked under the name of
Sitgreaves. It seemed simpler to continue that
when we were married in 1964.

VITA

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Appendix I-b

NAME: Rosedith Sitgreaves
a.k.a. Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker

ADDRESS: 4415 - 39th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

HUSBAND: Albert H. Bowker

DATE OF BIRTH: January 30, 1915

PLACE OF BIRTH: Easton, Pennsylvania

EDUCATION RECORD: A.B. Wilson College, Chambersburg, PA., 1935

M.A. (Statistics) The George Washington University,
Washington, D.C., 1940

Ph.D. (Mathematical Statistics) Columbia University,
New York, N.Y., 1953

PROFESSIONAL RECORD:

1. Principal Positions

National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C.
Senior NIE Associate, 1980-8183

Stanford University, Stanford, California
Professor of Education (and Statistics, by courtesy)
1972-80
Professor Emerita, 1980-

California State University, Hayward, California
Professor of Statistics, 1972-73
Lecturer in Statistics, 1971-72

Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Professor of Education, 1964-71
Associate Professor of Education, 1960-64
Assistant Professor of Education, 1957-60
Research Associate and Part-time Instructor, 1954-57

Applied Mathematics and Statistics Laboratory, Stanford University,
Stanford, California
Research Associate, 1952-54

Division of Occupational Health, U.S. Public Health Services,
Washington, D.C.
Statistician (GS-5 to GS-11), 1943-52 (except for periods of
leave to attend Columbia University).
Statistical Clerk, 1937-43

Rosedith Sitgreaves

2. Other Activities

The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Visiting Professor of Applied Science, 1970-71

(on sabbatical leave from Teachers College)

Statistical Consultant, Project in Longistics, 1960-70, 1971-75

Statistical Consultant, Department of Housing and Urban Development,
1974-75

Member, Advisory Panel on Score Decline, College Entrance Examination
Board, 1975-77

Member, Advisory Committee, California Assessment Program, California
State Education Department, 1978-80

Representative of the American Statistical Association on the Board
of Directors, Social Science Research Council, 1978-80

Representative of the American Statistical Association on the
Management Committee of the Journal of Educational Statistics,
1980-

MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

American Statistical Association, 1938-
(Chairman, Selection on Training, 1968)

Institute of Mathematical Statistics, 1946-

American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1965-69
(Secretary, Section U - Statistics)

FELLOWSHIPS:

Fellow, The Commonwealth Fund, 1946-47

Fellow, American Statistical Association, 1960-

Fellow, Institute of Mathematical Statistics, 1960-

Guggenheim Fellow, 1963-64

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:

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NEW YORK TIMES
 Monday, February 3, 1992

BOWKER—Rosedith. With grief, we note the death on February 1 in Mitchellville, MD, of Rosedith Silgreaves Bowker, loving wife of Albert H. Bowker, former Chancellor of CUNY and of the University of California at Berkeley. She was his constant companion, consort and mate. Partners they were and parters into eternity. Truly also she was a loving and devoted stepmother. As Dr. Silgreaves, she was an eminent teacher and researcher on statistical modes, methods and theory at Columbia University and at Stanford University. She served as national secretary of the American Statistical Assn. Modest, gentle and kind, she was to her friends a most stimulating and cherished companion. In memory, she will remain with us—and with him—evermore.

Doris and Robert Birnbaum
 Helen and Herman E. Cooper,
 Nancy and Julius C. C. Edelstein
 Timothy S. Healy
 Harriet and Ted Hollander
 Ann and Theodore W. Kheel
 Christine and J. Joseph Mena
 Margaret and James P. Murphy
 Susan and Joseph Shenker
 Robert F. Wagner, Jr.

THE WASHINGTON POST
 Monday, February 3, 1992

BOWKER, ROSEDITH S. On Saturday, February 1, 1992, of Mitchellville, Md.; wife of Albert H. Bowker; stepmother of Paul, Nancy and Caroline Bowker; aunt of Barbara McKeown and James Elchline. Memorial services at Cleveland Park Church, 3400 Lowell St., N.W., Washington, D.C., on Saturday, February 15, 1992, at 2 p.m. Please omit flowers.
--

WASHINGTON POST
Tuesday, February 4, 1992

ROSEDITH SITGREAVES

BOWKER

Statistics Professor

Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker, 77, a former professor of statistics at Stanford and Columbia universities, died of heart ailments Feb. 1 at her home at Collington Episcopal Life Care Community in Mitchellville.

Dr. Bowker was born in Easton, Pa. She graduated from Wilson College, and received a master's degree in statistical mathematics from George Washington University and a doctorate in statistical mathematics from Columbia.

From 1943 to 1953 she was a statistician with the Public Health Service in Washington.

Later she was a research associate at Stanford and a professor of education and statistics at Columbia. She returned to the West Coast in 1971 and taught at Hayward State University and Stanford until 1980, when she moved back to the Washington area. Later she worked for the National Institute of Education.

Survivors include her husband, Albert Bowker of Collington; and three stepchildren, Caroline Bowker of Berkeley, Calif., Nancy Bowker of Redwood City, Calif., and Paul Bowker of Suisun, Calif.

Berkeleyan

February 12, 1992

Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker, considered by many the First Lady of the Berkeley campus during the 1970s, died Feb. 1 in suburban Washington, DC.

She died of heart ailments in her Mitchellville, Md., home; she was 77. Her husband, Albert Bowker, served as chancellor at Berkeley from 1971-1980.

"Rosedith Bowker was a warm, soft-spoken woman whose seeming shyness belied an easy sense of humor and an unflappable presence. As First Lady of the campus, she was hostess at hundreds of official events, while continuing an impressive academic career," said Richard Hafner, now-retired head of public affairs.

Bowker was reportedly the first Berkeley chancellor's wife to have her own independent career during her husband's tenure.

A theoretical statistician who used Sitgreaves as her professional name, Bowker held teaching posts at California State University—Hayward in statistics and later at Stanford's School of Education, where she retired in 1980.

This followed an appointment in education at Columbia University, where she rose from assistant professor to professor between 1957 and 1971. She was an authority on the application of statistical methods, particularly multivariate analysis, to educational research issues.

She was a fellow of the American Statistical Association and of the Institute of Mathematical Statistics.

The Bowkers were married in 1964. In their retirement they lived near Washington, DC. Currently Chancellor Emeritus Bowker is president of Washington's Cosmos Club.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-2060

FFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORIAL RESOLUTION
ROSEDITH SITGREAVES BOWKER
1915-1992

Rosedith Sitgreaves died of heart failure February 1, 1992 in Mitchellville, Maryland at the age of 77. Thus ended a long career as statistician in government, as a Professor of Education, and as mathematician. She was a devoted colleague, friend and adviser to many students. Her guidance to doctoral students was legendary and not readily emulated by her successors.

Rosedith was born on January 30, 1915 in Easton, Pennsylvania. She attended Wilson College, a women's college in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. After receiving her bachelor's degree in 1935, she went to work for the U.S. Public Health Service in Washington, D.C. It was common in those days for those with a full-time job to go to graduate school in late afternoon or night. Rosedith launched her statistical career in this manner and received a master's degree in statistics from George Washington University in 1940. Following this, she took periods of leave and matriculated at Columbia working towards her doctorate.

In 1947 Rosedith Sitgreaves was part of the first postwar cohort at Columbia University, whose faculty in Statistics was particularly distinguished at that time. This was an exciting period, when the field of statistics was being developed, and many, like Rosedith, became distinguished statisticians. She completed her doctoral degree in mathematical statistics with T. W. Anderson, currently Professor Emeritus at Stanford University. Her dissertation was a *tour de force* and dealt with the problem of classifying an observation in one of several populations. This procedure, generally known as discriminant analysis, was used during World War II to classify air force officers. Rosedith's contribution was to determine the distributional behavior of this classification procedure.

She came to Stanford in 1952 as a Research Associate in the Applied Mathematics and Statistics Laboratory. The Department of Statistics was formed in 1948, and the Applied Mathematics and Statistics Laboratory was established two years later, both under the leadership of her future husband Albert H. Bowker. The Department and the Math-Stat Lab, which attracted many visitors, were the scene of pioneering new work in statistics and the mathematical sciences. In later years Rosedith often spoke fondly of the excitement that pervaded the activities in Sequoia Hall and of the sense of participating in bold new developments.

In 1954, she returned to Columbia, rising through the ranks at Teachers College to Professor of Statistics in 1964. That same year she married Al Bowker, who had left Stanford to become Chancellor of the City University of New York. They remained in New York until 1971, when Bowker returned to California as Chancellor at Berkeley, and Rosedith to a faculty appointment at California State University, Hayward. In 1973 she was appointed to a Professorship in the School of Education at Stanford, where she remained until her retirement in 1981.

Her impact on faculty and students was legendary. She enjoyed consulting and helping colleagues with statistical advice. Many times this involved a novel approach, and she would work out some new procedure. Her role as teacher and adviser was recognized by the students, and she won the Students' Award for Excellence in Teaching. The then Dean of the School of Education said, when presenting the award, "An unusually dedicated colleague, she is extending her superb competence to provide advice on the research program in our Center for Research and Development in Teaching, and to participate in the decision-making curriculum of our new program in administration and policy making in education. I don't know what we would do without her, and I hope that we will not be confronted by the question." Rose stayed on another six years before retiring.

Rose's research was mainly in multivariate analysis and test design. She liked applications and became involved in a wide range of problems. She participated in a study in tracking SAT and college entrance test scores; she disagreed with Arthur Jensen on genetic factors in education. From an early date

she was interested in the education of women, and was actively engaged on panels and committees to help further their careers.

The years at Stanford were joyous ones for Rose. She enjoyed the intellectual stimulation and excellence of students. She also enjoyed her role as hostess, both as the wife of the Chancellor at the University of California, Berkeley and also as a member of the Stanford faculty. Students were welcome guests at her house. This merger of roles came easily, and she introduced herself simultaneously as Professor Sitgreaves and Mrs. Bowker.

Rosedith was recognized by the profession and received numerous honors. She was a Fellow of the Commonwealth Fund 1946-47, a Guggenheim Fellow 1963-64. She was a Fellow of the American Statistical Association and of the Institute of Mathematical Statistics.

Rosedith was a close friend to many—to students, to colleagues at Berkeley, Stanford, Washington and New York, to the many whom she helped and stimulated. She was a kind and gentle woman, and will be missed by all who knew her.

Ingram Olkin, chair
Lee J. Cronbach
Gerald J. Lieberman
Halsey Royden

Marion Lewenstein
Academic Secretary

Donald Kennedy
President

CLEVELAND PARK CONGREGATIONAL
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
3400 Lowell Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016
202/363-8211

12 March 1992



MEMORIAL SERVICE February 15 for ROSE BOWKER

The sanctuary was virtually filled with friends and colleagues on Saturday afternoon, February 15, to celebrate the life of Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker. Mrs. Bowker, who had been suffering from a heart ailment, slipped away peacefully, though unexpectedly, in her sleep on Saturday morning, February 1, at home at Collington in Mitchellville, Maryland.

The service was as she would have liked it — simple with music, favorite hymns, familiar scripture passages — and a bit upbeat with a jazz pianist (who played "Sophisticated Lady" brilliantly) as a nod to the Bowkers' fondness for jazz. Reflections by Mr. Dodds, her husband Dr. Albert Bowker, stepdaughter Nancy Bowker, and a colleague friend were of the qualities which made her so personally exceptional — soft-spoken, unassuming, compassionate, generous with time and help wherever needed, great sense of humor, devoted to her family -- just to list a few.

Exceptional as a person, Rose Bowker was equally exceptional in her career. With a master's and doctorate degree in statistical mathematics and a wealth of experience, Rosedith Sitgreaves (as she was known professionally) was a theoretical statistician noted as an authority on the application of statistical methods. Accomplishments would take pages, but some highlights include several years as a statistician with the Public Health Service in Washington, professorships among others at George Washington University, Columbia and Stanford, as a consultant for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, a Fellow of the American Statistical Association and a Fellow of the Institute of Mathematical Statistics. In the years Dr. Bowker was chancellor at the University of California, Berkeley (1971-1980), she again spent some years in the School of Education at Stanford from which she retired in 1980.

TRIBUTE DELIVERED BY ALBERT BOWKER AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE

After I speak,-my daughter Nancy Bowker will speak , and Dorothy Gilford will read a message from Stanford U. An additional celebration of her life be held in Berkeley on Feb. 26

In the last play Rose and I saw together "Marvin's Room" the heroine is dying of Lukemia after a lifetime of caring for a catatonic father (Marvin), a crippled Aunt, a psychotic nephew, a selfish neurotic sister says "I'm so lucky, I had the opportunity to give so much love." I don't mean to imply that Rose was surrounded by people like that, far from it but she had the ability to give love and warm friendship. She loved her family-mother, sister and niece ,nephew, grandniece Colleen and grandnephew, Joey who are here today. She loved my mother and my children who are here. Students and colleagues were enriched by her strength..Friends and neighbors all over the country felt her warmth and affection.

We once wrote a joint paper "An Asymptotic Expansion for the Distribution of the "W" Statistic" An asymptote is something you get closer and closer to and our shared life experiences, mostly fun times but some bad ones, had made us closer closer every year. And that is how we felt about each other.

I have received many letters of condolence with memories of Rose. and various adjectives describing her. The words gentle and cheerful are repeated by many, Yet combined her gentle manner there was a fighting spirit and a serene optimism. . Graduating from college in the depression as an English major she became a statistical clerk in the public health service. Studying nights at George Washington and on a series of leaves at Columbia earned a Ph.D. in mathematical Statistics. She climbed the academic ladder when, how shall I put it, women were not as welcome in academe as they are today. She took on a family with teen age children and accepted social responsibilities that come with being a College President's wife. Widely liked as First Lady of the Berkeley campus she was hostess at hundreds of official events and was the first UC Chancellor's wife to have her own independent career. (Commonplace now but raised eyebrows t the time.) Her retirement was a happy

one. Five years in New York which she loved and new friends at Collington meant a lot to her. Events at the Cosmos Club were fun.

Her optimism showed just two years ago two years ago when she drove back and forth across the country to Lake Tahoe alone with only two speeding tickets. Her bridge group at Collington tells me she announced on the first day "I never underbid" and consistently fulfilled that prediction.

Her death was relatively peaceful in the early morning hours on February 1st after an illness that began with a heart attack Thanksgiving Day. She did not expect to die; her fighting spirit intended to lick this heart problem. as it had two mitral valve operations. And it seemed so unlike Rose to go this way, because she never did anything that was harder on her friends and loved ones than on herself.

TRIBUTE DELIVERED BY NANCY BOWKER AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE

Rose was a great stepmother. She was no different as a stepmother than as a person -- she was good, kind, intellectually and culturally active, thoughtful and generous with her time and with herself. She brought a lot of enthusiasm to the task of being a stepmother. We greeted her in that role with less enthusiasm, but after a while she cared so much she won us over.

She was devoted to her family and we can all remember many different ways she showed this. She took Caroline and me to hear Martin Luther King speak. She tried to interest us in a Beatles song as the latest thing, but we weren't convinced she was right until much later. Caroline remembers Rose took her shopping for clothes for college; Rose wanted to buy junior sophisticate dresses while Caroline was privately and correctly convinced that all college students actually wore was blue jeans and T-shirts. Rose showed many kindnesses to Paul, such as helping him with school projects and comforting him when he had problems.

Rose had a well-developed if irreverent sense of humor. Driving with her at Eastertime we passed a church and I read the sign aloud which said something like, "Jesus Died. He rose again and was reborn. Rose said, "Jesus Christ, maybe, but you and me, Nancy, we're on the same escalator, getting older and older."

Rose was notorious as a bad driver. When she backed up in the car it was more probable than not that she would hit any other cars that were in the vicinity. When she said she was going out, people would offer to move their cars to give her a clear field. She admitted a weakness in driving in reverse, but always said she was a fine driver, going forward, straight ahead. In the main this was true, although Caroline remembers the time she drove forward straight ahead over a gas pump in a gas station.

Rose and my father were both always fascinated with all the possible different routes for reaching a particular destination. To go from New York City to our place in the country generated discussion: Shall we take the Tappan Zee Bridge or the Henry Hudson Parkway? Or shall we take the alternative route on the Merritt Parkway. For me, if I master a way from point A to point B I am happy to go the same way every time. I wondered what it would be like to be in a family where such things are not so exhaustively discussed.

Rose approached her driving in about the same way she approached her life. Secure in the love she gave her family and the love they gave her, she had a quiet confidence and courage that things would all turn out for the best. It will be hard not to have her in our corner anymore. I like to think of Rose setting off for her final journey the way she faced her journeys in life -- having considered all the alternative routes and having selected the one that for the moment seems like the best one, leaning slightly forward in the driver's seat, confident, full of courage, hands firmly placed on the steering wheel poised for forward straight-ahead driving, her eyes would be lit up with anticipation as she contemplates how it will be when she reaches her final destination.

My first association with Rose was in the summer of 1947 at Columbia. She had graduated from Wilson College and went to work in the US Public Health Servies in Washington. She received a masters degree in statistics at George Washington University in 1940, and that launched her statistical career. She took periods of leave and matriculated at Columbia.

We were the first postwar crowd at Columbia and were anxious to complete our education. The class was numbered 111 A and B and was taught by Jack Wolfowitz. Rose and I struggled together especially watching Wolfowitz chew on his wrist. There were at least forty in the class, and many, like Rose, became distinguished statisticians. She completed her degree at Columbia with Ted Anderson, and then spent three years from 1952 to 1954 at Stanford. The Stanford Statistics Department was started in 1948 by Al Bowker, and there was a lot of intellectual excitement. There were many visitors at that time and lasting friendships were made.

Rose joined the faculty of Teachers College in 1954 and was there until 1971, after which she came west. She spent two years at California State University, Hayward and then was at Stanford from 1972 until her retirement in 1980.

Rose and I were the two statisticians in the School of Education. Her impact on faculty and students was legendary. She enjoyed consulting and helping colleagues with statistical advice. Many times this involved a novel approach, and she would work out some new procedure. Her role as teacher and adviser was recognized by the students, and she won the Students' Award for Excellence in Teaching. The then Dean of the School of Education said, when presenting the award "An unusually dedicated colleague, she is extending her superb competence to provide advice on the research program in our Center for Research and Development in Teaching, and to participate in the decision-making curriculum of our new program in administration and policy making in education. I don't know what we would do without her, and I hope that we will not be confronted by the question." Rose stayed on for another six years before retiring.

Rose's research was mainly in multivariate analysis and test design. She liked applications and became involved in a wide range of problems. She participated in a study in tracking SAT and college entrance test scores; she disagreed with Arthur Jensen on genetic factors in education. From an early date she was interested in the education of women, and was actively engaged on panels and committees to help further their careers.

Rose and I were very close during her Stanford years. We taught together, worked

with students together, and had many student parties. Al was Chancellor at Berkeley during this time, and Rose often invited the students to their house. She was a warm and gracious hostess. We also started a Stanford-Berkeley colloquium series in education that brought together students and faculty in the behavioral and social sciences, and education, which continues to this day.

Rose's presence on the faculty led to great days for the Stanford community, and especially for me. I remember the search committee's report before Rose was hired at Stanford. The summary was "She is the best in the business." And indeed she was.

Ingram Olkin
from Stanford University Statistics

Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker: 1915-1992



Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker died of heart failure on 1 February 1992 in Mitchellville, Maryland. She was born on 30 January 1915 in Easton, Pennsylvania, and attended the all-women's Wilson College in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. After receiving her bachelor's degree in 1935, she went to work for the US Public Health Service in Washington, DC. It was common for those who had a full-time job to go to graduate school in the late afternoon or night. Rosedith joined this group and received a master's degree in 1940 in statistics from George Washington University. This launched her statistical career. She took periods of leave and matriculated at Columbia University towards a doctorate.

Rosedith was part of the first postwar crowd at Columbia, all anxious to complete their education. In the summer of 1947, the classes were numbered Statistics 111 A, B. The instructor was Jack Wolfowitz, and there were at least forty in the class. Many, like Rose, became distinguished statisticians. She completed her PhD at Columbia with T. W. Anderson; her thesis was on the distribution of the Wald classification statistic. After graduating, she spent 1952-1954 at Stanford; the Dept. of Statistics was started in 1948 by Albert H. Bowker; that was a time at Stanford when there were many visitors and a lot of intellectual ferment.

In 1954, Rosedith returned to Columbia University and rose through the ranks to appointment in 1964 as Full Professor of Statistics at Teachers College. That same year she and Al Bowker were married in Pennsylvania. Bowker had left Stanford University as dean of the graduate division to become Chancellor of the City University of New York. They remained in New York City until 1971 when Al became Chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley, and Rosedith was on the faculty at California State University, Hayward. In 1973 she was appointed to the faculty in the School of Education, Stanford University, where she remained until her retirement in 1981.

Rosedith had always been interested in applications. Her early work (1948) dealt with an air pollution study and with blood lead determinations. Later, her contributions focused on measurement problems in general, and on item analysis in particular. But she continued working on multivariate distribution theory, especially on the Wald classification statistic. She became involved in the "Jensen Report" and disagreed with the thesis that there were inherent genetic factors in minorities that generated lower test scores.

From an early date, she was interested in the education of women, and she was actively engaged on panels and committees to help further their careers. After her retirement, she continued to participate in government-sponsored studies that involved statistics. Her impact on faculty and students was legendary. She enjoyed consulting and helping colleagues with statistical advice. Many times this involved a novel approach, and she would work out some new procedure. Her role as teacher and adviser was recognized by the students, and she won the Students' Award for Excellence in Teaching. The then Dean of the School of Education said, when presenting the award, "An unusually dedicated colleague, she is extending her superb competence to provide advice on the research program in our Center for Research and Development in Teaching, and to participate in the decision-making curriculum of our new program in administration and policy making in education. I don't know what we would do without her, and I hope that we will not be confronted by the question." Rose stayed on for another six years before retiring.

Rosedith received a number of honors. She was a Fellow of the Commonwealth Fund 1946-1947 and received a Guggenheim Fellowship 1963-1964. She was a Fellow of the Institute of Mathematical Statistics (IMS) and the American Statistical Association (ASA). Rose's presence on the faculty led to great days for the Stanford community. I remember the search committee's report before Rose was hired at Stanford. The summary was "She is the best in the business." And indeed she was.

INGRAM OLKEN
Stanford University

Theoretical statistician Rosedith Sitgreaves dies at 77

Rosedith Sitgreaves Bowker, professor of statistics in Stanford's School of Education from 1973 to 1980, died of heart failure Feb. 1 in Mitchellville, Md. She was 77.

Born in Easton, Pa., she attended all-women's Wilson College in Chambersburg, Pa., and received her bachelor's degree in 1935. She was appointed to a civil service post in Washington, D.C., in 1937. She continued to work in Washington as a statistician for the U.S. Public Health Service after earning a master's degree in statistics at George Washington University in 1940. She earned a doctorate in mathematical statistics from Columbia University in 1953.

Sitgreaves came to Stanford in 1952 as a research associate and worked under Albert H. Bowker, who was then associate professor of statistics and dean of the graduate division.

In 1954, she returned to Columbia and rose through the ranks to appointment as a full professor of education there in 1964. Also that year, she and Bowker, who had left Stanford in 1963 to become chancellor of the City University of New York, were married in Pennsylvania. The couple returned to California in 1971, he to become chancellor of the University of California-Berkeley and she to assume a teaching post at California State University-Hayward.

In 1973, she was appointed professor of education at Stanford, a position she characterized as "very exciting and challenging." As a theoretical statistician, her special concerns were the applications of statistical theory to research problems in education and psychology.

Calling her "an unusually dedicated colleague" and praising her "superb competence," Arthur Coladearci, then dean of the School of Education, said: "Prof. Sitgreaves represents a giant step forward in our instructional and research capability."

Sitgreaves left Stanford in 1980 to return once more to Washington, D.C., when her husband retired as chancellor of UC-Berkeley and was appointed assistant secretary of education for postsecondary education by President Jimmy Carter.

Sitgreaves was a fellow of the American Statistical Association and the Institute of Mathematical Statistics.

She is survived by her husband; stepchildren Nancy Kathleen Bowker of Redwood City, Stanford alumna Caroline Anne Bowker, '72, MD '77, of Berkeley, and Stanford alumnus Paul Albert Bowker, '70, of Suisun, Calif.; a niece; and a nephew.

A memorial service is scheduled for 2 p.m. Saturday, Feb. 15, in Washington, D.C. ■

Born: September 8, 1919, Winchendon, Massachusetts

Married: September 26, 1964 to Rosedith Sitgreaves,
Professor of Education and Statistics,
Stanford University

Education: B.S. in Mathematics,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1941
Ph.D. in Statistics, Columbia University, 1949

Professional Record:

1941-43	Research Assistant, Mathematics Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
1943-45	Associate Mathematical Statistician, later Assistant Director, Statistical Research Group, Applied Mathematics Panel, Columbia University
1947-63	Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, Professor of Mathematics and Statistics, Stanford University
1959-63	Dean, Graduate Division, Stanford University
1963-71	Chancellor, The City University of New York
1971-80	Chancellor, University of California, Berkeley
1980-81	Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education, U.S. Department of Education
1981-84	Dean, School of Public Affairs University of Maryland
1984-86	Executive Vice President, Central Administration, University of Maryland
1986	Vice President for Planning, Research Foundation of The City University of New York

Member:

National Drug Abuse Council (1972-79)
 Advisory Council of Presidents, Association of
 Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges
 West Coast Board, Institute of International Education
 Board of Trustees, Bennington College
 Board of Governors, University of Haifa
 Committee on Graduate Education,
 American Association of Universities
 Board of Trustees,
 Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1967-75)
 Board of Directors,
 San Francisco Bay Area Council (1972-77)
 Command and General Staff College
 Advisory Committee (1977-79)
 National Association of School of Public Affairs and
 Administration, Executive Council
 Association for Public Policy and Management,
 Policy Council

American Association for the Advancement of
Science (Fellow)
American Society of Quality Control (Fellow)
American Statistical Association (Past President, 1964,
and Fellow)
Institute of Mathematical Statistics (Past President,
1961-62, and Fellow)
Operations Research Society of America
Sigma Xi (Honorary) (Executive Committee, 1963-66)
Phi Beta Kappa (Honorary)

Awards:

Doctor of Science, Morehouse College, 1988
Order De Leopold II, 1980
Distinguished Public Service Medal,
Department of the Navy, 1980
Berkeley Citation, 1980
Doctor of Laws, Antioch University, 1980
Shewhart Award, American Society of Quality
Control, 1978
Medal for Distinguished Service, Teachers College,
Columbia University, 1973
Doctor of Humane Letters, Board of Regents of the
State of New York, 1972
Doctor of Laws, Brandeis University, 1972
Doctor of Humane Letters,
City University of New York, 1971
Frederick Douglass Award for 1969,
New York Urban League
Bronze Plaque, Municipal Association for Management
and Administration, 1967

Books:

Sampling Inspection by Variables (with Henry P. Goode),
McGraw-Hill, 1952
Handbook of Industrial Statistics
(with Gerald J. Lieberman), Prentice-Hall, 1955
Engineering Statistics (with Gerald J. Lieberman),
2nd ed., Prentice-Hall, 1972
"Writing Skills and Institutional Articulation," in
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(J.D. Koener, Editor),
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- 1956 Continuous sampling plans, Proc. Third Berkeley Symp. on Math. Stat. and Prob., Vol. V:75, University of California Press
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- 1960 A representation of Hotelling's T^2 and Anderson's classification statistic W in terms of simple statistics. Essays in Honor of Harold Hotelling: 142, Stanford University Press

- 1961 An asymptotic expansion for the distribution function
of the W-classification statistic, (with R. Sitgreaves)
Studies in item analysis and prediction: 285, Stanford
University Press
- 1965 Quantity and quality in higher education J. Amer.
Statist. Assn. 60: 1

5/27/71

THE CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION

Deputy Director, Center for Urban Education, New York City

Robert Denler

A new social scientific and educational research organization has been created that is pertinent to sociologists of education. It is the Center for Urban Education (33 W. 42 Street, New York City, New York, 10036), an independent non-profit corporation formed in 1965 under a charter from the New York State Board of Regents.

The Center conducts research and development work on the problems of urban education. Its fundamental aim is to contribute knowledge to the strengthening, improvement, and reconstruction of educational services of all kinds and at all levels within urban society.

The Center took form out of a proposal by Albert H. Bowker (Chancellor of The City University of New York, former President of the American Statistical Association, and Director of the Center for Urban Education) to seven other higher educational institutions in New York City to join together to create an organization with the resources commensurate to the task of addressing the problems of urban education. The institutions, including The City University, were Bank Street College of Education, Columbia University, Fordham University, New York Medical College, New York University, Teachers College of Columbia University, and Yeshiva University.

Early in 1965, funds from the Carnegie Corporation, the Field Foundation, the New World Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation enabled a group of about 70 public school teachers and administrators, social scientists and university scholars to meet to outline objectives. In September, 1965, the United States Office of Education awarded the Center a contract to finance a research and development program for at least the first school year.

The Center conducts most of its program within communities and school systems located in the New York urban area that extends roughly

from Bridgeport, Connecticut, to Newark, New Jersey. Although concentrating on New York City, studies are also underway in surrounding suburbs and in Buffalo, New York—the latter in cooperation with the New York State Department of Education.

The Center aspires to become a regional education laboratory under the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. As such, its inter-university base may be extended to affiliate with other institutions.

The program is based on the work of four divisions. A Division of Educational Practices is charged with the study of problems related to school administration, teacher training, and curriculum. A Division of Special Educational Practices emphasizes research and program innovation in the areas of the handicapped child, exceptionality in general, guidance and other pupil personnel services, and technical education. The Division of Child Learning and Development is creating facilities where qualified investigators, chiefly from the university faculties, can expand and accelerate their own work. Areas of research include early experience as related to subsequent school performance, cognitive socialization, the role of affect in learning, teacher-pupil interaction, achievement motivation, and the development of moral values. Special research emphasis will be given to the study of the social and emotional development of the disadvantaged child.

Sociologists may be attached to any of these three divisions. Two, for example, are already at work on projects in the Division of Special Educational Practices. However, sociological research is especially concentrated in the Division of Community Research, which focuses on problems concerned with the relation between education and urban society. Current areas of emphasis include studies of school desegregation, social factors in inner city student success or failure, mass culture and the mass media, and concern with the introduction of the study of sociology and social problems into the secondary school curriculum.

The staff of the Division of Community Research includes these professional sociologists, at present: Robert A. Denler, Herbert Gans, Irwin Goldberg, Gladys Engel Lang, David Rogers, and Harvey Rosenthal. Its senior social psychologists include Arthur J. Brodbeck and Bernard Mackler. Sociological Advisors to the Community Research Division include Allen H. Barton, Donald Horton, Patricia C. Sexton, and Max Wolff. Twelve advanced graduate students in sociology, anthropology, city planning, and psychology are serving as research assistants. The staff will expand substantially in the event the Center becomes a regional education laboratory.

Participating social scientists are employed at the Center under a flexible variety of terms. Some are full time associates without other affiliation. Some are jointly appointed to the Center and to the faculty of

a member university. Others are on leave from public school systems. Moreover, the fractions of time invested in Center projects range from 100 per cent to 10 per cent, depending upon the interests and obligations of individuals and the demands of specific studies.

The Center has sought to create at one and the same time a strong headquarters R & D staff, and a strong set of ties to participating institutions. The view of the leadership has been that effective scholarship and development require a good deal more than a holding company of ideas or a loose confederation of faculties. Much initial effort has been invested therefore in establishing a viable headquarters.

Three floors of an office building have been leased at a location central to the population and transport system of the metropolitan area. The building is across from the New York City Public Library. It also houses the Graduate Center of The City University and other educational enterprises. More than 60 professional, administrative and support personnel are currently employed at headquarters, 30 of them professionals from the university community and from public education.

Meanwhile, the Center conducts joint projects with university faculty who are more loosely affiliated with the staff. The roles involved range from intensive consultation through subcontractual commitments to specific inquiries. A Liaison Office maintains steady communication with a vast range of participants located outside the physical offices of the Center. In addition, the Center will eventually offer facilities and services at headquarters of special value to participating scholars and educators. These include a large special library collection, research design consultation, and a Field Research Unit under the management of Gladys Engel Lang.

Operationally, the style of Center research and development is the style of collaborative effort between scholars, practitioners and policy makers. School districts may arrange to exchange access and recorded data for continuing research and program assistance from the Center, for example, making possible continuous data collection on the one hand and free consultation and services on the other. Or, the Center will accept invitations from a state commissioner, a mayor, or a city school superintendent, to conduct evaluation research, experiment with new programs, or design and operate research-oriented special schools.

Intellectually, the Center extends well beyond the conventional categories of public and higher education. The growth and social experience of children, youth, young adults, and aged persons are the central concerns and education has been so defined as to interface with a host of institutional phenomena, including the mass media, health, welfare, and housing.

Essential to the viability of the Center is trusting cooperation between member colleges, universities, and school systems. Such coopera-

tion is not new in character but it is rare. The depth of trust required for effective work by this Center will be new. In itself, partnership may prove to be the greatest contribution of the Center to structural change. Although private funds will be received and used for research and demonstration purposes, the backbone of the Center will be continuing financial support from the federal government.

California Monthly
June-July 1980

From the '60s to the '80s

An interview with Albert Bowker

When Albert H. Bowker stepped down as chancellor of the University of California's Berkeley campus June 30, he took with him the record for the longest term in that office — nine years. Since he came to Berkeley in 1971 from the City University of New York (before that, he was graduate dean at Stanford), Bowker has earned the reputation of being a soft-spoken but tough-minded administrator who likes to get a job done with a minimum of fanfare.

Bowker, 60, helped guide the flagship campus of the UC system out of an era of student strife and through subsequent years of increasingly severe budgetary constraints.

By MARCY KATES '73

His excellence as an administrator has not gone unnoticed. President Carter has appointed Bowker to the position of assistant secretary of education for post-secondary education, following a recommendation by U.S. Secretary of Education Shirley M. Hufstedler. Bowker assumed his new post July 1.

In a recent interview with the *California Monthly*, Bowker reflected on his years as Berkeley's chancellor.

Q: *How has the University changed since you became chancellor in 1971?*

A: When I came here, Berkeley accepted

every qualified student. The dormitories were not full, and the vacancy rate was a little disturbing — considering that we're on 40-year bonds.

The legacy of the '60s much reduced the popularity of the campus and public support. It seemed to me that one of the things I had to do was turn that around. We went to work and talked about Berkeley in all parts of the state. We really uncovered an enormous interest in Berkeley. Now, we've become extremely popular. The dormitories are jammed full, with waiting lists, and we're trying to get additional housing as fast as we can.

It seemed to me that Berkeley, which had

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lost 110 faculty positions the year before I came, was spread too thin. I felt we ought to reorganize and deemphasize some of our weaker programs and change the emphasis in some others. This led to changes such as the abolition of the School of Criminology. We're no longer as involved in teacher training as we were, but the School of Education has important other functions. At the same time, we were faced with an enormous demand for places in engineering and business, in particular, as well as in law. These represent the long-term trends.

Q: What about the side of your job that isn't quite so visible to the outsider — the internal administrative structure of the campus. Did you make changes there?

A: In a way, the thing that has pleased me most about my years at Berkeley has been the number of talented people willing to work in the administration. I reorganized slightly, bringing in two provosts to operate the institution, one for the professional schools and one for the College of Letters and Science. It turned out very well because in principle when I came here all of the deans reported to me, and there were too many to have an effective working relationship with.

Q: Some of the decisions you've made as chancellor, such as cutting out 35 administrative positions last year, can't have been very easy.

A: Yes, that's true. It was pretty painful. But our whole intention has been to try and live with budgetary stringencies without affecting the academic quality of the institution.

Q: And do you think you've succeeded in doing that?

A: I believe so. One of the first things I did was to look at the number of faculty positions we had with respect to exemptions and retirement. We adopted a recruiting policy which made it certain that roughly 60 new faculty would be added to the campus every year. This meant slowing up replacements in some cases and speeding them up in others, but managing our resources so we had a steady flow of new people and a renewal of the campus. And that we've been able to stick to for nine years.

Q: It sounds like Berkeley has had to spend much of its resources reacting to things like budgetary constraints. Has the campus still been able to lead, to break new ground?

A: It's obviously easier to start new programs when you're in a period of expansion; nevertheless, we have gone into new areas. We started a program in energy, we started a very interesting new program in health and medical sciences, combining training of physicians (jointly with UC's San Francisco medical school) with other kinds of professionals such as genetics counseling and mental health. But most of the innovations here come within departments and schools that are constantly changing curriculum.

Q: What about programs to attract new students to Berkeley or students who might not be as well prepared as they should be?

A: We have outreach programs into the high schools and programs that identify talented students in the sciences, where minority enrollment has tended to be the smallest. We've also had new leadership and some new funding for our learning centers, which assist students who are here and in need of help. Probably the thing that has been most successful — it's been copied all over the country — is the Bay Area Writing Project, where the teachers here of Subject A and elementary English hold workshops and summer programs with teachers from our major feeder high schools. As a result, there has been a considerable drop in the number of people who have had to take remedial English at Berkeley.

Q: How would you describe your relationships with students here over the years?

A: I am usually accessible to elected student leaders. And I've tried through the years to meet with other groups, Regents' Scholars, the Inter-Fraternity Council, and athletic teams.

I find it difficult to relate to 30,000 people [chuckle], and probably am not highly visible to most students — at least that's a criticism that has been made of my administration.

When I walk on campus, some students look the other way and some look toward me. Many students stop and speak to me.

Q: Do they tell you about their gripes?

A: Usually they just want to meet me and say hello. We receive about 3,000 students each year at the reception for new students. It's quite an experience, shaking hands for three hours!

Q: As Berkeley's chief promoter, you've done a lot of entertaining, haven't you?

A: You don't have to do entertaining, but I have thought it important in these years to pep up the fundraising. In Berkeley's earliest days it was heavily supported with private funds, but in the late '40s and '50s, under Governor Warren and Governor Brown, the University turned more to the state in a period of rapid expansion. Now Berkeley, in common with most public institutions, is finding the state not as generous as it has been. We've turned more and more to private fundraising, which is absolutely essential if Berkeley is going to remain an institution of quality. We've done pretty well at it.

Q: I recall seeing a figure that alumni support went from \$3 million in 1973 to \$23 million in 1978.

A: Yes, mostly from individuals, with some corporations and private foundations. And we still have a way to go. But for a campus without a medical school, we do quite well.

Q: Which of your goals for Berkeley have you had the most difficulty accomplishing?

A: I suppose that the thing that has frustrated me most is that I've been able to do relatively little about the physical needs of the campus. There's been a block against public building in Sacramento because of the feeling that the educational plant of the state is large enough to handle the enrollment in the '80s, particularly since the demographers say that college enrollment will decrease. But in research institutions, space needs are not necessarily proportional to the number of students, nor do we see much drop in enrollment here.

Our problem is mainly to remodel and modernize our facilities. The two most difficult problems are the Life Sciences Building, which is not a modern laboratory building, and Doe Library, which has seismic problems. We have some money now to make detailed engineering studies of all the alternatives (in remodeling or rebuilding these buildings), and I think we have some sympathy in Sacramento. But it takes years to get things done.

Q: Turning now to your successor, Vice Chancellor J. Michael Heyman. How do you think he'll do as chancellor? You've certainly had time to observe him.

A: He's had a long time to observe me, too. I'm known as a low-key administrator, and I think he's a little more highly tuned. The important thing about this job is a commitment to preserve the excellence of Berkeley, and I'm sure the vice chancellor has that. How you go about it is partly a matter of style. I think he'll do a very good job.

Q: How have students changed in the years you've been at Berkeley?

A: I think there's less tension between most students and the institution today. There's a great deal more concern about employment. Many liberal arts students are taking one or two practical courses, such as accounting. Certainly there's more attention to study; Berkeley is more competitive; we're getting better students all the time.

Q: Is there anything in particular that you'll miss when you leave Berkeley?

A: The campus life is very attractive. I suppose I'll miss mostly the friends I've made among the faculty and alumni. One of the things that has really impressed me has been the loyalty of the Berkeley alumni to the institution. Thousands and thousands of people really look to the time they spent here as the great days of their lives.

A Conversation with Albert H. Bowker

Ingram Olkin

Albert Bowker was born in Winchendon, Massachusetts, on September 8, 1919. He received a B.S. in Mathematics from MIT in 1941, and a Ph.D. in Mathematical Statistics from Columbia University in 1949. He was on the Stanford faculty from 1947 to 1963, serving as founding Chairman of the Statistics Department and Dean of the Graduate Division. In 1963, he became Chancellor of the City University of New York. He returned to California in 1971 as Chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley. In 1980 he was appointed as the first Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education in the newly formed U. S. Department of Education. In 1981 he went to the University of Maryland as founding Dean of the School of Public Affairs and later became Executive Vice President. In September 1986, he returned to the City University of New York, and now serves as Vice-President for Planning of its Research Foundation. In 1961-1962, he was president of the Institute of Mathematical Statistics, and in 1964, president of the American Statistical Association. Honors include the Frederick Douglass Award of the New York Urban League; the Medal for Distinguished Service of Teachers College, Columbia University; Shewhart Award of the American Society for Quality Control; Berkeley Citation; Distinguished Public Service Award, Department of the Navy; Order De Leopold II; and honorary degrees from the City University of New York, University of the State of New York (Regents), Brandeis University and Antioch University. He has been a member of the boards of various professional and educational organizations including MIT, the University of Haifa and Bennington College.

The following conversation took place in his home in Washington, D. C. in October 1986.

I STARTED AT MIT

Olkin: Al, perhaps you can begin by telling us about your statistical background before and after your education at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Bowker: In June of 1937 I graduated from Woodrow Wilson High School, which is a block and a half from where we are now sitting in Washington, and that fall enrolled in MIT as a freshman. My original idea was to become an engineer of some sort, although my father and most of his friends had been research scientists at the National Bureau of Standards. But finally, discouraged largely by a drafting and chemistry laboratory, I decided that I wasn't inclined enough mechanically to become an engineer. I then transferred to mathematics.

It was very pleasant at MIT because, although mathematics is a very large major today, there were

only a few people in my class. Actually, mathematics had graduates every now and then in those days rather than every year. So by transferring as an undergraduate to mathematics, I became part of a small community and was entertained socially by the faculty; I had a small office as a junior.

Olkin: Who were the faculty at that time?

Bowker: The people in statistics were George Wadsworth, who was in the mathematics department, and Harold Freeman, who was in the economics department. I became quite close to both of them as well as with Ken Arnold, who had just finished his doctorate and was an Instructor, and with some of the other mathematicians.

Olkin: Was Norbert Wiener there at the time?

Bowker: Wiener was there, and I took a course from him as an undergraduate. Although I never understood it, I got an A in the course. But it was really Freeman and Wadsworth who interested me in statistics.

THE STATISTICAL RESEARCH GROUP AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Bowker: After I graduated in 1941, I went to work at MIT on a military project, which was trying to use statistical methods for weather forecasting, and in fact was exploiting some of Wiener's ideas of prediction. When it came right down to it, however, these methods were essentially the same as multiple regression. Although I enjoyed working at MIT and in Washington at the Weather Bureau, I became discouraged about the project and moved to the Statistical Research Group at Columbia in 1943.

I must say that the Statistical Research Group (SRG) probably had a major influence on my thinking and career, because I believe it was the most distinguished and creative collection of statisticians ever assembled.

Olkin: For the record there were two statistical research groups, one at Princeton and one at Columbia. Can you clarify that?

Bowker: Yes. We never referred to Princeton as SRG although officially it was SRG Princeton and we were SRG Columbia.

Olkin: So the major center was at Columbia.

Bowker: Yes. The Columbia group was much bigger. For example, Fred Mosteller, who was associated with SRG Princeton, also had an office at Columbia. There was considerable cooperation between the groups.

Olkin: What was the charge to the Statistical Research Group?

Bowker: SRG was set up by the Applied Mathematics Panel of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. There is a very good history by Allen Wallis in the June 1980 issue of the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*.

We worked on military problems that were referred to us mostly but not exclusively by the Navy. I worked a lot on methods of firing various weapons, aerial torpedoes and bombsights.

Olkin: Was this with Harold Hotelling at the time?

Bowker: The three figures who formed the group were Hotelling, Allen Wallis and Jack Wolfowitz, but Wallis was the Director and real spearhead. The other members comprised a statistical 'who's who': Abraham Wald, Churchill Eisenhart, Jimmie Savage, Milton Friedman, George Stigler, Abe Girshick, Ken Arnold, Harold Freeman, Herb Solomon, Ed Paulson, Millard Hastay, Rollin Bennett.

It was a great experience to be able to see significant applied problems analyzed by the best theoreticians in our field given the best available research support and computational facilities. Computing facilities in those days consisted of rooms full of people pounding Fridens, Monroes and Marchants, and my responsibilities included supervising this activity. Most of the young women who worked for us were either from Hunter, trained by Hobart and Jewell Bushey, or from Vassar trained by Grace Hopper. SRG was an open-door operation. I could drop in and talk informally to people who were then the leaders of our field or many who would later become leaders, my contemporaries. And in many ways, the atmosphere at SRG contrasted sharply with the formality of Columbia University as a place to study. SRG was a good model later on for the statistics department at Stanford, hopefully having a series of problems come in from either government or industry, having enough space so that all of the young scholars, graduate students and the faculty could be housed in the same building, easily accessible to each other. I think in the early days at Stanford's Sequoia Hall and before that at the Knoll, we came close to achieving the kind of environment that we had at SRG.

Olkin: Al, let me interject one question here. Physically, was SRG housed separately from the statistics group that was later to become a department at Columbia?

Bowker: Oh yes, we were housed at 401 West 118th Street, whereas the statistics department was housed at Fayerweather Hall on campus.

Olkilin: So that was close geographically, but off campus.

Bowker: Yes, but both Hotelling and Wald probably spent more time with the SRG than they did in their offices at Fayerweather Hall.

Of course, all those other people were at SRG, so it was certainly the center of gravity of statistics. In fact, students who weren't involved with us were kind of shortchanged at the time. This was wartime and there were lots of other groups around us. We also had a strong group of mathematicians in our building and next door. They had no relation to us. It was just another group of the applied mathematics panel. And we collaborated with them. I worked with Jim Stoker, who at the time was a member of that group rather than Courant's. We worked on several problems, particularly measuring the characteristics of the evasive action of ships bombarded by aerial torpedoes.

Olkilin: What was happening in New York at that time? Was there a statistical community or was the activity mostly at Columbia?

Bowker: I don't recall too much activity elsewhere. While I was at Columbia I went down to the

New School to hear Richard Courant lecture several times. But he was giving a course on calculus of variations, aimed mostly at teachers. It had very little to do with statistics.

Olkilin: Were you formally a student at Columbia during this period?

Bowker: Yes, but I didn't really do anything more than take courses. All the courses then were given in the late afternoon. But when the war was over, I received a National Research Council fellowship to study full time during the academic year 1945-1946 at Columbia. I think that Jack Wolfowitz was on the faculty during those years as well. P. L. Hsu, in particular, was on the faculty, and I started to work on a dissertation with him. He was a great lecturer and one of the clearest expositors in our field. In the fall of 1946 he moved to Chapel Hill, and I moved down there for a quarter. I was also at North Carolina State University in Raleigh the summer before. This was an exciting summer program and a lot of my fellow students from Columbia attended. R. A. Fisher, among others, lectured for the summer. We had an opportunity to hear ideas from the great man. Since we had taken statistical inference, which was based on the Neyman-Pearson theory, from Abraham Wald at Columbia, we were not as respectful

CONVERSATION WITH ALBERT H. BOWKER

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of R. A. Fisher as he might have liked. However, he managed to survive our class.

MY MOVE TO STANFORD

Bowker: In the meantime Allen Wallis, who had been director of the Statistical Research Group, had returned to Stanford where he was a member of the economics faculty. Mina Rees, who had helped Warren Weaver run the Applied Mathematics Panel during the war, was then developing Applied Mathematics and Statistics programs at the Office of Naval Research and had offered Allen a project to help develop statistics at Stanford. I have always thought that Mina and ONR have not been given enough credit for the development of mathematical statistics in this country. In most major universities it is the only new discipline (until the recent addition of computer science) added to the Arts and Science area since World War II; ONR certainly played a major role at Stanford, Berkeley, Chapel Hill, Chicago, even Princeton and Columbia. Largely at Allen's urging, the statistics community at Stanford decided to use the availability of project funds as a base for an academic program in statistics; the move was authorized by Donald Tressider, then President of Stanford, and by the academic Vice President, Alvin Eurich, who also approved an offer to me and asked Fred Terman to recruit me as Allen was moving to Chicago. The mathematics department received me with a certain detachment. Although he became a strong supporter of statistics, Gabor Szegö was then chairman of the mathematics department, and explained to me very nicely that while what I did was very interesting—it wasn't mathematics. So we moved rather quickly to a separate department.

Olkin: So the department was actually formed in 1948?

Bowker: It was announced by Alvin Eurich in 1948, and I was asked to be chairman though still technically a graduate student at Columbia. (Talk about student power!) In the meantime, President Tressider died. Wally Sterling was appointed president, and I think it's fair to say that he reaffirmed the whole decision. I find file accounts of long conversations with him. In some ways a turning point was the availability of Abraham Girshick to join the department. He was then at RAND Corporation. Girshick had a remarkable mind with a deep interest in theory, but firmly grounded in applications from his government experience at the Department of Agriculture and wartime work at SRG. He was a warm and attractive person who drew in other scholars. The Annual Report of the Statistics Department that year lists Meyer A. Girshick, Professor; Albert H. Bowker, Assistant Professor; Zivia Wurtele and Gladys Rappaport (later Garabedian), Research Associates.

Other people were also around. When I first went to Stanford, Herb Solomon came out with me for a year to help on a Sampling Inspection by Variables Project. He went back to the Office of Naval Research, and later moved to Teacher's College, Columbia University. Herman Rubin joined us fairly early on.

Olkin: Was Ken Arrow already on the faculty?

Bowker: No. Allen Wallis had been in the economics department, and I was appointed to the mathematics department. The economics department agreed to this move, as I remember it, on the basis that they wouldn't lose their statistics position. That was also up in the air for a little while, but they decided to recruit someone.

STATISTICAL SCIENCE

I strongly urged them to appoint Ken Arrow. There was no one comparable. Kenneth came in with a joint appointment between statistics and economics from the beginning.

Olk: Where had Ken been at the time?

Bowker: Cowles Commission. Although I was at Stanford first, Ken was very important in the development of the department.

Olk: Was Pat Suppes already at Stanford?

Bowker: I was not involved with hiring Pat, but I helped keep him at Stanford. He had been a student of Ernest Nagel at Columbia and was interested in logic and the foundations of physics. He didn't find much of an intellectual community at Stanford, and joined us on several projects working on decision theory and inventory models. In June of '49, Quinn McNemar was appointed Professor of Statistics in addition to his appointment in psychology.

Olk: So that was the composition of the group. There was yourself, Ken Arrow, Abe Girshick, Herman Rubin and, to some degree, Pat Suppes and Quinn McNemar.

Bowker: Lincoln Moses was also at Stanford. He had been a Stanford undergraduate and had come back after the war to study. He was encouraged to come into the statistics department as a student. Our first two doctoral students were Moses and Solomon which may have been a good omen. In any case, both later played important roles in the department.

Olk: One of the striking features of the Stanford department is that we have a lot of joint appointments. In fact, at one time we had 9 out of 16 faculty joint with other departments. You indicated that to some degree the model came from the Statistical Research Group. Did you consciously think of joint appointments at the time, or was it just a natural evolution?

Bowker: The idea from the beginning was to construct a research laboratory with students and faculty working on problems, many of which would come from applied fields; to treat students as colleagues, with office space; to provide first class computing facilities. Implicit in this arrangement were projects to cover computing costs and stipends for students. Also implicit were joint appointments with other departments. A large ONR project naturally evolved from SRG. It dealt with what is called variables inspection, and comprised a large part of our activity for the first few years.

The policy on joint appointments was also derived from my view that the department ought to dominate, if not be formally responsible for, all of the statistics instruction and that the instruction ought to be in the hands of professional statisticians. This had been a theme of Harold Hotelling for many years. And the

easiest way to implement it appeared to be through a series of joint appointments.

In my first few years I tried to spend as much time as I could consulting with other faculty and I worked some at the medical school, which was then in San Francisco. That led to a joint appointment with the Department of Public Health and Preventive Medicine, although most of my work was not with them. It was with other scientists. Lincoln Moses was eventually brought back with a joint appointment with the Medical School.

The School of Education joint appointments came quite a bit later, when an attempt was made to reform the school as a distinguished research school. Joint appointments with industrial engineering always seemed natural because there was a strong quality control activity there.

Olk: Was Gerald Lieberman in the picture at this time?

Bowker: Jerry came as a student. I was doing some consulting at the National Bureau of Standards and met Jerry and invited him to come as a student. He did and worked on the quality control procedures. After he got his degree in 1953, he accepted a joint appointment with industrial engineering.

David Blackwell was a frequent short term visitor and spent one or two academic years when he, Girshick and Arrow undertook their work on decision theory. This became a major activity for a number of years.

Although few recall it now, Stanford was not an exceptionally distinguished university when I first went there. It certainly was not one of America's great universities as it is today. Most people thought I was crazy in accepting a position there. I remember that one mathematician left Stanford because he thought it had no future.

Although I'm a little ashamed of it, the Berkeley oath controversy, in 1952, actually afforded us a special opportunity. Charles Stein who was on the Berkeley faculty decided that he would not return there. He went to the University of Chicago and then we recruited him to Stanford. Erich Lehmann spent a year at Stanford and also considered moving. Other events were taking place throughout the university. Paul Garabedian came to the mathematics department. Wolfgang Panofsky, later head of the Stanford Linear Accelerator (SLAC), came to the physics department. Other visitors in mathematics came from Berkeley. In particular, I remember Hans Lewy came at that time.

Although not very many people moved, the ones who did were pretty important to the university. Panofsky was to be the key figure in SLAC, which might very well have been at Berkeley.

And there was also a very substantial increase in funds from the Office of Naval Research spurred in

part by the increased military investments due to the Korean War. So when I look back on that period there were a number of incidents that may not have been very good for the country at large but that still helped us.

So Charles joined us, and then we recruited Herman Chernoff. Together with Moses and Lieberman, it gave me, at least, the feeling that we could be as good as any place in the country in our field.

I want to say, however, that the Berkeley people were very cooperative in the '50s. We had a joint Berkeley-Stanford seminar in which everyone, graduate students and faculty, went. It still exists but does not play the key role that it did then. And we did feel part of the same statistical community. Both Jerzy Neyman and I were empire builders and we saw advantages in cooperation.

Olkin: Was Samuel Karlin part of the group at the time, or did he come shortly thereafter?

Bowker: Well, he must have come a little thereafter. The roster of the department in '56-'57, the year after Girschick's death and toward the end of my term as Chairman shows Kenneth Arrow, Herman Chernoff, Samuel Karlin, Quinn McNemar, Charles Stein, Gerald Lieberman, Lincoln Moses and Emanuel Parzen.

THE MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES AT STANFORD

Bowker: In the meantime, I had taken a very ambitious role of leadership in the mathematical sciences at Stanford. I was made a member of the mathematics department again and had a lot to do with its direction under Gabor Szegö and later, under Menahem Schiffer when he was chairman. The mathematics department had always been strong in classical analysis. My general notion was to build a mathematics department that emphasized classical analysis and other fields of mathematics that were applicable. I didn't use the term applied mathematics as the center of gravity for the department; I think applicable mathematics is a better word.

Before Karlin came we had brought in Charles Loewner and Stefan Bergman.

Olkin: Of course, George Pólya and Gabor Szegö were already there.

Bowker: Yes. Ivor Stakgold and Harold Levine were brought in as applied mathematicians. Halsey Royden was already there as were Paul Berg and Gordon Latta. David Gilbarg joined us. And in addition to that, I had supported Pat Suppes in his ambitions to build a group in learning theory. We first recruited Richard Atkinson, and later William Estes joined the faculty.

Olkin: I suspect that this was between 1958 and 1962. Although I visited Stanford on sabbatical in

1958-1959, I joined the faculty in 1961 together with Richard Atkinson, who was joint between Psychology and Education, and Kai Lai Chung, who was a full member of the Statistics Department. My own appointment was joint with Education.

Bowker: With Ken Arrow as a nucleus, we had really a very interesting and stellar group of mathematical economists. Marc Nerlove, Hirofumi Uzawa and Herbert Scarf were around. Harvey Wagner, who had been an undergraduate and master's student at Stanford, got his Ph.D. at MIT and came back to join the faculty.

So we had very substantial activity by mathematically oriented social scientists as well as by a group in statistics and a group in applied mathematics. These groups were loosely linked together in the Applied Mathematics and Statistics Laboratory of which I was director. The Laboratory was a kind of holding company for government projects and a unifying force in providing administrative services of a fairly high caliber compared to what most people had available in those days.

Olkin: I meant to ask you whether J. V. Uspensky, who wrote the probability book, was alive at that time? This was a name I recall from his book on probability. It was a rather unique book in containing material that is not readily found in most texts.

Bowker: Uspensky died practically upon my arrival, so I never knew him. Mrs. Uspensky was still alive, and I met her several times.

Olkin: There was another person in Applied Mechanics who was mathematically oriented. This was Stephen Timoshenko. Was he involved with your group?

Bowker: No, he didn't have much to do with us. He had a brother, Vladimir, who was a statistician and economist, I think in the Food Research Institute, and some of those people collaborated with us a little more, such as Bill Jones and Holbrook Working, among others. Holbrook was not actually part of the group, but was associated with us. I don't know why we never offered him a joint appointment since he was a strength to us. Another person in a similar relation to our group was Eugene Grant in industrial engineering.

We never had a very close relationship with the Business School. Although I was friendly enough with the Business School and played a role in several doctoral dissertations, we never got as far as a joint appointment.

Olkin: Another person who was around at this time was George Forsythe.

Bowker: Yes, in the mid 50s I joined forces with Fred Terman, a great friend and supporter since our initial interview, to organize a computer center and get an IBM 650. The computer center led by Jack

Herriott was housed in the Electronics Research Laboratory, but through various transformations was my responsibility until I left Stanford in 1963. I recruited George and I persuaded the mathematics department to take him. He was at UCLA which missed the opportunity to be a leading center of computer science, although it had a lot of money, particularly from the National Bureau of Standards. We hired George explicitly with the idea of starting a computer science department which was later formed with Forsythe as the first chairman.

I am usually given the credit for that action, correctly I think, although I find, as I reminisce about Stanford, that there are a lot of other people who take credit for the things that I think I did. I am reminded of the military saying which John Kennedy used in talking about the Bay of Pigs, "Victory has a hundred fathers, defeat is an orphan." A unique opportunity for Stanford was an enormous mathematically related center of high quality activity. We even chatted a bit about a school of mathematical sciences bringing all these interests together.

I mention all of this because in 1955-1956, I took a sabbatical and went back to Columbia where I did some research. It was during that year that I wrote a paper on a representation of Hotelling's T square and Anderson's classification statistics in terms of simple statistics. This paper appeared in the Hotelling Festschrift volume that you help edit.

It was a year of stock-taking, and I had to decide whether I saw my future mainly in statistics or whether I would go into more general administration.

I was probably offered the directorship of the Courant Institute in that year. I certainly was offered it by Henry Heald, who was president of NYU, and Harold Stoke, who was the dean (and was later to work with me as president of Queens College). I remember visiting Courant in his home, and he showed no sign of being willing to transfer authority. So if I had really pursued it, it might not have worked out. And indeed NYU's directions, although they were close to that of the Stanford mathematics department, were not particularly close to mine. However, I had a number of good personal friends there.

After thinking it over and talking to Fred Terman at Stanford, I decided to return to Stanford first as his assistant (by now he was Provost of the university) and later, when it became available, as Graduate Dean. So from 1956 or 1957 on, I was at least part time, later to be full time, in the Stanford administration.

And I made, I guess implicitly, a decision that I would look for my career in university administration. Although there was a high element of chance in all of these decisions.

Olkin: So your term as Chairman of the Statistics Department ended in 1960?

Bowker: Herb Solomon was a visitor in 1958 and he was appointed chairman the next year. I was then Graduate Dean, but when I was Fred Terman's assistant I also kept the chairmanship of the department until we could recruit someone.

I continued an interest in the mathematical sciences picture, generally. For example, in that year I had organized a committee on operations research with Lieberman, Arrow—I can't remember all of the people—Karlin, Scarf and probably someone from industrial engineering, to look at the future of operations research, which had been started as a graduate division interdepartmental committee; the committee had the authority to grant Ph.D.s but didn't have much structure, and I kept negotiating for newer and bigger machines for the computer center.

To some extent things began to fail apart in these years. The mathematics department, with David Gilbarg as Chairman, decided not to be as specialized as I had intended and branched out more into pure mathematics. Although some of the appointments they made were very good, I have never been sure that this move was wise. I have often thought that mathematics departments around the country, especially the small departments, might be stronger if they had more specialization. I have been particularly critical of my alma mater, MIT, which did not specialize in applied mathematics, and now doesn't have any representation in statistics since Herman Chernoff retired. I've been on several visiting committees there, and found that there are more Ph.D.s in the mathematical sciences outside the department than within it. Much of the basic work in communication theory and information theory there has been done in other departments.

Somewhat later the group around Pat Suppes left. William Estes went to the Rockefeller University and Richard Atkinson became director of the National Science Foundation, but Pat has continued in a very active program at Stanford in computer-assisted instruction and has had a big impact nationally. Kenneth Arrow left and went to Harvard, although now he is back at Stanford, and the relationship with economics continues to flourish. The Department of Computer Science flourished and the Department of Statistics flourished, although there were some moments of trepidation. One thing: the Statistics Department could have incorporated the operations research activity going on in the university and decided not to. I guess this was a mistake.

Olkin: Yes, I remember this decision. The department was offered the opportunity to incorporate operations research, but the departmental vote was very split and it was decided not to enlarge the scope. Then operations research became a separate department in the School of Engineering.

So in effect then, during the late 1950s, two new mathematical sciences departments were formed: the Department of Operations Research and Computer Science.

in the School of Humanities and Science. I gather that within the last couple of years they have made the other decision themselves.

Olkin: They have just moved to the School of Engineering. Did you have anything to do with mathematical biology, which also has a group at Stanford?

Bowker: No, I wasn't involved with that. In the early days I consulted with Frank Weymouth in physiology and Willis Rich in biology. That really led to the medical school relationship there, because Weymouth was in the medical school. When did the mathematical biology group get started?

Olkin: I can't recall exactly, but Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza must have come in the middle 1960s, as a visitor I think at the beginning, and then Marcus Feldman joined that group. But that must have been later.

Al, let me come back now to some of the scientific aspects. There is the Bowker-Lieberman book which clearly had a major impact in the industrial field. In fact, it's a book that is still used very heavily. How did your collaboration start? Was this a natural evolution from the Statistical Research Group Columbia to your work at Stanford in quality control?

Bowker: I think so. And Jerry, of course, had started to work both in variables inspection and in continuous sampling in his early days. We were fairly close personally, so we started to write this book.

It was, I think, fairly influential for a while in the sense that I once estimated that about 10% of the engineers in America must have studied out of it. The book is out of date now in that it has never been revised to reflect the impact of modern computers. I have been encouraging Jerry to revise it and he has been encouraging me, and I suspect that we probably won't do it.

But it did have a big impact. I keep bumping into people who studied from it, and I have correspondence every year about an error or a question.

Olkin: I think until that time there was just the book by Harold Freeman, is that correct?

Bowker: He wrote a book with more emphasis on experimental design and experimental statistics. Our book not only had quality control but tried to put in the standard Fisherian techniques.

MORE ON COLUMBIA

Olkin: And your paper that gave the derivation of the distribution of Hotelling's T^2 , where did you do that?

Bowker: I did that at Columbia. Actually, I had

never had much geometric intuition and my earlier work had been more manipulative in algebraic forms. And I suddenly, thinking about this, as I remember it, visualized the transformation symmetrically. It was something new for me and I thought it was clever at the time; it still seems to be. Ted Anderson refers to it in his book.

Olkin: Yes. I think it is one of the nice derivations of the noncentral distribution of the T^2 statistic.

Bowker: Because I had been interested from the early days with P. L. Hsu in putting statistics into a form such that they could be studied asymptotically in terms of asymptotic expansion, and this was part of it. Hsu, although he did everything formally, really did have a fine geometric sense.

Olkin: Before we get into other administrative posts that you had, perhaps you can reminisce a bit about some of the people who were well known at the time, such as Wald or Wolfowitz or Hotelling.

Bowker: Well, Wald of course had a big influence on all of us at Columbia. His lectures were absolutely magnificent. Hotelling was very creative but was not so organized in the classroom, and I think a lot of us were really very attracted to statistics by Wald.

I think, personally, Hotelling was a wonderful person and he helped develop a lot of people, such as Wilks, Girshick, Doob and the Madows for example. He helped get them supported in the days when that wasn't easy. He had us all to his home in Mountain Lakes periodically. Hotelling later went to Chapel Hill and built another statistical community. He had some eccentricities. He always believed Columbia should sell the campus and move to Rocky Mountain National Park. He was a little single-minded in his views of how statistics ought to be organized and taught. In fact, he was at Stanford in 1930, and I found a write-up in a Stanford catalog which was pure Hotelling. Harold Bacon of the Stanford mathematics department had worked with him.

I was a colleague of Jack Wolfowitz at SRG and we got along pretty well. He had never really had an academic post before the war, so he was kind of in between being a graduate student, although quite a bit older, and being a distinguished professor. He had some sense of the lack of recognition of his abilities, which seemed to continue through most of his life.

One of the nicest people that I have ever known in my life was Abe Girshick, who was generous and friendly and open. And I think one positive point about the whole statistics and mathematics group at Stanford was that we all came out to a relatively new community. It wasn't a community in which any of us had family or friends or cousins or sisters. So we quite naturally associated with each other. We had some contacts with the pre-war faculty at Stanford, but there was a substantial age gap and perhaps even some

differences of opinion on Stanford's future. So Girshick's own home became a center of a large number of people in many departments who would just drop in for coffee or a drink or a chat. Many of us went practically every day and certainly several times a week.

Olkin: David Blackwell has very fond memories of Abe and credits him with having a strong influence in his own life.

Bowker: I think Abe encouraged Blackwell to get working in statistics. We were very disappointed not to get David at Stanford. We tried to recruit him but didn't succeed. I was Chancellor of Berkeley later and David certainly has been a great asset to that institution. In comparing Stanford with Berkeley, I think that he felt that his family would be happier in Berkeley where there is a substantial middle class black community and there really wasn't one in Palo Alto. His children have certainly turned out well so I imagine he was right.

The Blackwells were around a lot too, and we also had a policy of having two or three visitors a year. So a lot of the old gang from Columbia was out: Milton Sobel, Ben Epstein came, Z. W. Birnbaum came several times and there were others.

Olkin: Al, let me ask you about what was going on in the East Coast. Was there a group at Harvard when you were at MIT or at Columbia? Or was that quiescent at the time?

Bowker: I don't remember any activity at Harvard. When I was an undergraduate at MIT we had a joint math club with the Harvard undergraduates.

Olkin: But nothing in statistics.

Bowker: There was a group in public health at Harvard.

Olkin: At a certain point Fred Mosteller went to Harvard.

Bowker: Yes, in the Department of Social Relations there was an experiment of trying to combine social psychology and sociology, which I think has now been abandoned. Bob Sears, who later came to Stanford, was chairman of that department.

Olkin: The other group that was thriving at least in terms of students was Princeton. It did not have a big faculty, but it had Sam Wilks and John Tukey. Were you involved with either at the time?

Bowker: I really wasn't. Wilks had done a post-doctoral year with Hotelling once, and I got to know both of them later when I was at Stanford. But when I was a student at Columbia, I didn't have anything to do with him that I remember. In fact, Tukey's own deep interest in statistics came a little later. Statistics got started at Chicago when Allen Wallis went there, so it must have started about the same time that Stanford did.

THE CHANCELLORSHIP AT THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Olkin: Al, the next phase of your life, I think, was in administration. After Stanford you became Chancellor at CUNY.

Bowker: The State University of New York (SUNY) had been reorganized, and some of the campuses were designated as graduate centers. In 1961 the authority to offer graduate work was extended by change in state law to the City University.

I was suggested as chancellor by Mina Rees, who was then a Dean at Hunter College (we had reported to her during the war—she was the Number 2 person to Warren Weaver in the applied mathematics panel), and by Ruth Shoup, a member of the Board of Higher Education, who was a Stanford graduate, as were her husband and sisters. Her husband was the brother of the director of the Stanford alumni association. Pat Sears, who was on the Stanford faculty, is one of Ruth's sisters. In any case, there were a lot of Stanford connections.

They hired me at CUNY in part because I was graduate dean. This was an extremely exciting period at the City University. I did organize graduate work,

and I was pleased that in the last ranking of graduate programs by the Associated National Research Council, the City University ranked very well. In New York State I would say that it ranked just after Columbia and Cornell.

So the graduate doctoral work was started. But the real problem in New York at that time was that in the period in which there had been enormous expansion of higher education in many parts of the country, particularly California, in which a very large percentage of the high school graduating class was going into some kind of post-secondary institution, the City University had not expanded very much. They had talked about it but it hadn't been done.

So my main job was to build an institution equal to the demands of the population in the City of New York. And I think I really did that. When I took over the institution, there were four senior colleges and three community colleges, and when I left there were 20 institutions. I used to found them at the rate of one or two a year, as I was there only eight years. Some of those were created by the separation of existing institutions and making the components independent. But some were brand new.

This required among other things, a massive building program which is still going on. And the City University construction fund, I think, is one of the best-funded capital programs in the country.

Toward the end of my term at CUNY, we adopted an open admissions policy which offered a place in either a community college or a senior college to every high school graduate in New York. And all during this period, we had a number of additional programs to interest minorities, in particular under-represented minorities, into going on to college. So it was a great expansion of opportunity. The open admissions policy is somewhat controversial, and I think not well understood, but I am not the one to pass judgment on its success.

Olkin: Do you still feel that it served a purpose in permitting minorities and people who would not have had a chance to have an education to get one?

Bowker: Yes. There is no question about it. It has provided an opportunity to an enormous number of people. Also, the school system itself was embroiled in all kinds of controversies during those years. The City University by and large was not an issue in the racial struggles that went on in New York.

Olkin: I was going to comment before that I remember two critical points during your tenure as Chancellor of the City University. One was the budgetary fights with Governor Nelson Rockefeller. And the other was the open admissions policy, which we have discussed. Do you want to comment about the budgetary issues?

Bowker: Well, Rockefeller actually did a wonderful job in supporting higher education. But it was still very important for me to dramatize the needs of the university. One year I threatened not to open in the fall with any new freshmen because we didn't have room for them. That was the year we got the construction fund passed. I used to threaten to close this college and that college. It was all real; we really needed the money. And we got it. Rockefeller would really probably have preferred to bring the City University under the State University. That was discussed a lot in those years, though, and my Board considered it treachery every time it was mentioned, tuition being the big political issue.

In those years the City University was supported by both the City and the State so my demands for money hit the Mayor also. Bob Wagner was and remains both a great friend of mine and the City University; he supported the increased budgets and in his last days in office, intervened in a factional dispute in my Board to make it possible for me to continue in office. John Lindsay endorsed the construction fund and the open admissions policy.

Free tuition was maintained as long as I was Chancellor and somewhat thereafter. It was remarkable how easily it was abandoned during the fiscal crisis of New York. I was always willing to move a little bit on that issue in return for something. But my Board probably wouldn't have been. When CUNY finally gave it up, they got nothing for it.

But those were really creative years, and looking back, I was one of the fairly important people in New York City at the time. I was never listed among the power brokers, but I certainly saw an awful lot of them, whoever they were. I had a lot of good friends in important places and access to all levels of city and state government.

Now, the academic excellence of the City College, in particular, was at its height in the 1920s and 1930s. They had more or less a monopoly on the children of the Jewish immigrants to New York. After the war, the bright Jewish kids had lots of opportunities elsewhere, but many people look back on those days as to what City College ought to be. It just isn't appropriate to run an elitist public institution that is primarily white in the middle of Harlem, in my view anyway.

Olkin: Al, as you look back now from a 15-year perspective, what do you see as the major accomplishments during your chancellorship at CUNY?

Bowker: I think I'd mention the Graduate School and University Center, the policy of open admissions and the Construction Fund; but even more, the creation of new institutions: Herbert H. Lehman College, Bernard M. Baruch College, Borough of Manhattan Community College, John Jay College of Criminal

Justice, Fiorello H. La Guardia Community College, Hostos Community College, Medgar Evers College, York College, Kingsborough Community College, Richmond and helping Mt. Sinai become a medical school and incorporating New York Technical College into the system.

Olkil: Has the enrollment increased considerably in CUNY?

Bowker: It did but it's a little soft right now for demographic reasons though it's holding up better than they thought. There appears to a shift toward older students.

THE BERKELEY YEARS

Olkil: In 1971 you moved back to the West Coast to Berkeley. Tell us about the Berkeley period.

Bowker: Well, Berkeley is of course one of America's greatest institutions, and it was very interesting and a lot of fun to be there. The intellectual life is really outstanding. I was Chancellor nine years, about half of which I had Ronald Reagan as governor and the other half Jerry Brown.

My job really was not to make major changes in Berkeley, though I made a few, but to maintain its excellence and protect it from barbarians at the door. I think I did that reasonably well and was very popular when I left. I left with the respect of the San Francisco community, the philanthropic community, the alumni and the faculty. Even the presidents of the student body gave me a present.

But one thing I did do was start a major fund-raising campaign at Berkeley. There really had never been one. We were running about \$25 million a year in gifts when I left, up from practically nothing, and my successor, Michael Heyman, has doubled that.

I am also proud of the deans and other administrators who served with me, including the present Chancellor and Vice Chancellor.

Although I count the senior members of the statistics department as close personal friends, and I saw them when I was at Berkeley, I stayed out of the business of the statistics department. I thought they were a little slow in getting into the computer age, and I helped them once or twice. But it's always been my view that the head of an institution should stay out of his own discipline. My predecessor Roger Heyns advised me on this.

Olkil: You were at both Berkeley and Stanford. They have continued to maintain their connection until today.

Bowker: The cooperation between Berkeley and Stanford is practically unprecedented in the United States. I don't mean necessarily in statistics, but between the administrations. For example, there is nothing comparable between Maryland and Johns

Hopkins, and in New York the public and private institutions are at each other's throats.

But we could always count on support for our budget and support for many things from Stanford. Different administrators over many years have seen the desirability of this cooperation.

Also Stanford could use Berkeley as a standard when it was trying to achieve great university status. Berkeley could use Stanford as a standard when it was fighting the budgetary doldrums under Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown.

Olkil: How would you summarize your stay at Berkeley? What do you see as the highlights?

Bowker: When I went into the Chancellorship I said that one of my jobs was to convince the public to have the confidence in Berkeley that Berkeley deserves. It was partly the times but I think partly our effort, that restored the image of Berkeley as a reasonable institution.

When I first went there, for example, people from most central valley towns wouldn't come to Berkeley, a reaction to student violence and so forth. Now Berkeley is incredibly popular all over the country. Its reputation for violence and protest has changed to that of a major cultural center and hub of Bay Area politics.

I enjoyed the friends I made in San Francisco, and the international visitors who came through. Many important people visited Berkeley. For example, a month ago Corazon Aquino finished her tour there. It's true to some extent at Stanford.

Olkil: That takes us almost to the present time. Can you comment about your role in the post-Berkeley period and what you're up to these days?

Bowker: Yes. After Berkeley toward the end of the Carter administration, I was Assistant Secretary of Education for Post-Secondary Education which made me, among other things, the largest loan collector in the United States. That experience was kind of frustrating because we really weren't in office long enough to have major influence on the department.

After that I went out to the University of Maryland and founded the School of Public Affairs, one of the new policy-oriented management schools bringing people from the public sector. It's something like the School of Public Policy at Berkeley, the Kennedy School at Harvard or the Johnson School at Texas. It's an excellent school and it's doing very well. There isn't anything quite like that in the Washington area and it is needed.

BACK TO THE EAST COAST

Bowker: Then I helped in the central administration of the University of Maryland for a couple of years, as Executive Vice President of the University.

But I didn't really enjoy that as much as founding the School of Public Affairs. That reminded me more of my days of building the statistics department at Stanford. So I retired from Maryland last June, took the summer off, and now I'm working for the City University again and looking at their research foundation programs.

I have also agreed to do several things this year for other institutions, so I'm quite busy. I really don't want to work quite this hard.

Olkin: What is your function at the research foundation of the City University?

Bowker: I'm now reviewing how it handles projects and how it is financed. I then want to take a look at some of the problems in the way of getting increased research funds at the university.

I also work for the Chancellor. For example, I work on executive searches. I have given some thought to starting a statistics degree at CUNY. With Princeton changing its emphasis and Columbia in considerable disarray, there is an opportunity to start a strong program in New York. I had encouraged College Park (University of Maryland) to start a program, and I think they will although they haven't made the final decisions.

Rutgers is building up and perhaps that's enough; I don't know. But New York City has always had such a reservoir of theoretically talented people, it just seems to me that it could have a major center in statistics. So I am giving some thought to that as well as to a few other academic programs.

Olkin: You have commented about not wanting to work so hard, which I think you're entitled to. Tell me what you would like to do. What are your hobbies or travels? I know you have a cabin at Lake Tahoe.

Bowker: I love Tahoe and in the last few years while my mother was alive we did not get there very much. My mother died about a year ago so we spent last summer at Tahoe. We just had a very pleasant trip to Israel which we enjoyed a great deal. We are now in a position where we could even stay overseas for some period of time. So I expect to do a lot more travel.

I like to read to keep up the current novels, particularly British, but I'm just dropping behind in that also.

Olkin: Al, from your perspective from the last 40 years in the statistics business, what do you see in the future? What would you like to suggest to people?

Bowker: I have had a little worry about statistics in the sense that so many of the creative people of my generation or the generation of my teachers—I think of Blackwell, Tukey, Hotelling, Wald, Neyman, Wolfowitz, Savage and there are probably many

others—were not trained as statisticians, but came with their training essentially in pure mathematics.

There had been a question in my mind whether the statistics departments would attract intellects of the caliber of those people. So far I think the answer is yes. I think some of the 40 year olds at Berkeley and Stanford are very, very good. But I have seen fields, particularly in the applied social sciences such as education, social work and business, decline when they began to hire their own Ph.D.s and not have people from core disciplines. And I do think it's important that statistics keep a flow not only from the theory side but from the side of applications. I must say I have been kind of impressed with what the young people at Berkeley and Stanford are up to.

Olkin: How about the impact of computers; do you see anything special there?

Bowker: Well, I agree with Brad Efron's view in principle that it ought to change everything. So far it hasn't. It seems to me that the young faculty coming out know computing and know computers, and that will probably work out.

Olkin: Al, are there any topics that we have omitted that you would like to talk about?

Bowker: One thing: When I was talking about Stanford, it has always seemed to me that people who studied the history of the development of Stanford have not given enough credit to the intelligent way in which soft money from the federal government was used in its years of big expansion. Indeed, I think the full story of the Office of Naval Research, in general, has not been told. But no doubt, engineering, statistics, parts of physics and parts of many other fields were all built in ways that are not possible today but were then.

I think about the time before the National Science Foundation was formed, the role of the Office of Naval Research in supporting basic research and increasing technical manpower in this country was extremely important in the development of the statistics department of Stanford as well as many of the others.

Olkin: Probably the Courant Institute is another prime example.

Bowker: Yes, Harvard and Berkeley didn't do that whereas Stanford did. Maybe they had enough money. But at Stanford all the philanthropic gifts and all the money from real estate came in much later. It was the incremental overhead money in those years that really pumped money into Stanford.

Olkin: The statistical profession really owes a debt of gratitude to the handful of people who started the many statistics departments during the period from 1945 to 1955 when there was rapid growth and the beginnings of the current expansion era of statistics. And you were one of the key people in that.

25th ANNIVERSARY SYMPOSIUM
Department of Computer Science
Stanford University
November 9-11, 1990

Saturday, November 10

- 7:30 am Registration & Continental Breakfast
 Fairchild Auditorium
- 8:30 am The Stanford View of Computer Science
 Jim Gibbons
- 8:45 am The Beginning
 Al Bowker
- 9:00 am Stanford Computer Science:
 Its History and Challenge for Tomorrow
 Ed Feigenbaum
- 9:15 am Stanford Computer Science Today
 Jeff Ullman
- 9:30 am The Next Five Years: Algorithms and Theory
 Vaughan Pratt
- 10:00 am ♦ Break ♦
- 10:30 am The Next Five Years: Artificial Intelligence
 and Knowledge Systems
 John McCarthy - Raj Reddy
- 11:00 am The Next Five Years: Systems
 John Hennessy - Dave Gifford

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

The Beginning
SPEECH (*draft*)

From its founding Stanford was to be different from other Institutions of Higher Education largely in its emphasis on practical subjects. A few quotations from Senator Stanford illustrate the point. "Of all the young men who come to me with letters from friends, the most helpless class are college young men." Or in discussing his plans for the new University "Every useful art is to ~~the~~ taught: the arts of making shoes and clothes, of printing, carving, telegraphy, stenography, no less but rather more than the arts of music and painting and sculpture . . ." Small wonder then that in accepting the Presidency David Starr Jordan issued a five word statement, "We shall educate the Senator."

Indeed when Stanford opened its doors to students in 1891, the 2nd largest major was Mechanical Engineering, the 3rd Civil. (English the largest.)

It's worth remembering the environment at Stanford in the 50's and 60's. Although Stanford today rests comfortably on a peak of academic excellence, 'twarn't so in 1947 when I joined the faculty. The Law and Business Schools were far from their present eminence; the Medical School was in a decaying building in San Francisco. Physics and Psychology were nationally recognized and there were strengths elsewhere; but the innovative part of Stanford was the Microwave Lab based on the work of Hansen and colleagues strongly supported by Fred Terman who had returned from ^{the} Radio Research Laboratory at Harvard (counter radar effort) to become Dean of Engineering. He was playing a leadership role; he would later expand to the whole University as Provost.

Terman viewed the post-war period as critical for Stanford; would it aim to be like Dartmouth or like Harvard? After Wallace Sterling's appointment in 1949, the die was cast to be like Harvard or perhaps a mixture of Harvard and MIT. I remember an early conversation with Sterling discussing whether Stanford could really achieve national prominence. I reassured him though at the time I had no idea what it really meant; fortunately he did.

Let me turn for a moment to my own background. As an undergraduate at MIT I became interested in statistics and in numerical analysis as a research tool. During the War, I worked at MIT and at Statistical Research Group (Columbia) and among other things supervised fairly large groups pounding Marchants and Monroes; when I was recruited to Stanford as an Asst. Prof to organize statistics, I brought a large Office of Naval Research project with big computing needs. Among the Merchant and Monroe pounders were some graduate student wives - one was Lynn Gibbons, wife of the Dean of Engineering, another Helen Lieberman, wife of the Provost. In the 50's putting a husband through graduate schools was an acceptable career for women. Gladys Garabedian had worked for me in NY and was Supervisor of the group.

So it was natural for me to want computer capability and in 1952 Terman and I jointly established a Computation Center, acquired an IBM CPC, and Jack Herriot from math and Alan Peterson from EE agreed to become co-Directors. The path from there to Polya Hall

was one of increased usage, bigger and better machines, and an interesting story in itself. Cuthert Hurd of IBM later a member of this community was of enormous help.

But our main interest today is in the Department. I had long thought we should have faculty members interested in computing; others in math agreed (I was now back in the math Department as a joint appointment with Statistics and Associate Chair; I do remember some arm twisting) and we established a faculty position in 1956 in the Mathematics Department. George Forsythe was the only person seriously considered and I worked very hard to recruit him. Our judgement, which certainly turned out to be correct, was that he had the leadership ability and vision to build a program of first rank. McCarthy was recruited next from MIT; a Computer Science Division within math was created to give them autonomy in making appointments and it graduated to departmental status when it reached critical size.

An argument supporting the formation of a computer science group was the success of the Statistics Department; mathematical sciences seemed to be good field for us; indeed Operations Research was to come next. Lou Fine was around and had a visionary view of the discipline. We were determined to build a great University, by being ahead of others. We wanted to expand the graduate school into new areas. Project support was available. Forsythe seemed a good leader. In those days decisions could be made by consulting 4 or 5 people; bureaucracy and committees had not taken over.

UCLA where Forsythe was, had an advantage in that the Bureau of Standards had placed its west coast machine there and Forsythe had done important work in the associated numerical analysis group. Lots of good people had been around - Lehmer, Huskey, Rosser, Beckenback, Hestenes, Todd. During the ADX2 Battery Additive Crisis, the Bureau got a black eye (undeserved) and had to give up the management of the activity. The Defense Department which was putting up most of the money decided not to funnel funds through the "anti business" Bureau of Standards. Things began to deteriorate some and UCLA dropped the ball. Would we take advantage of someone's misfortune? You bet.

Toward the end of his active career after Stanford's extraordinary climb from a respected regional institution into one of the world's preeminent centers, FET mused, "This game of improving an educational operation is great fun to play because it is so easy to win. Most of the competition doesn't realize that education is competitive business, like football, only with no conference rules." Too bad Stanford never used him as coach!

Ed Feigenbaum in inviting me to come here said you people made a great decision; did you know what you were doing? I have a lecture on academic planning. In NY I started 13 colleges in the 8 years I was Chancellor; everything we did had to be in a master plan approved by the Governor and the Regents. Once when the Governor (Nelson Rockefeller) complained that I was amending it every month, I said, "Surely you want it to be a living document." At Berkeley I was Chancellor under the great lovers of higher education, Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown. There was little new money and once in a while we moved a few resources from one area to another to meet a target of opportunity. Unfortunately the

bureaucracy of the University and the State required that I say that in about 200 pages of prose in a master plan. My lecture on planning ends with a summary, often quoted, usually with disdain.

"It is easier to take a step in the right direction than to say where you're going."

Starting Computer Science at Stanford was a giant^{step} in the right direction and I'm proud of whatever part I had in it.

A. A. B.

November 10, 1990

25th Anniversary Symposium

Department of Computer Science

Stanford University

Nov. 9-11, 1990

Dr. Albert H. Bowker
Research Foundation, CUNY
79 Fifth Ave., NY, NY, 10003

December 23, 1992

Dear Al:

It was a delight to chat with you today and to learn that you are at work in Manhattan - and that your work includes developing materials about your career. A copy of my article, "Eulogy on a Laboratory: The Center for Urban Education," published in *The Urban Review*, Vol. 6,1 Nos.5-6, September 1973, which reviews the history and accomplishments of CUE, is buried in my papers in the basement. I hope to be able to find a copy and to send it to you in February, when we return from California. Meanwhile, here are a few items which go to the point of your leadership and to the attainments of those who affiliated with CUE. I've sent you with this letter a few pages of the beginnings.

You were the founding figure, board chairman, and director through the first twelve months. John Fischer became board chairman in September 1965. You served as director from November 1964 through May 1966, and I served as your deputy.

You mobilized the interest and gained participative commitments from key leaders at Columbia University, Teachers College, New York University, Fordham University, Yeshiva University, and Bank Street College, and New York Medical College. You brought in as other trustees Roy Wilkins, Albert Shanker, Bernard Donovan (Supt of New York City Schools), A.C. Stewart, and E.R. Piore of IBM, among others of distinction. Robert Benjamin, a very distinguished attorney in New York, gave outstanding pro bono counsel.

The organizing idea was to form a collaborative consortium of institutions of higher education whose faculties would cooperate in research, development, technical assistance, and knowledge exchange with public school systems in the Greater New York City, Tri-State metropolitan region. The idea was grounded in your conviction that the scale of needs of the children of the urban poor was so great that solutions would require the co-participation of many institutions.

The State Board of Regents of New York incorporated CUE in January, 1965. You obtained early funds in the amount of about \$100,000 from several foundations to get CUE started and USOE awarded us a contract as an R&D center under the ESEA in that same year. You gave us two floors in the Graduate Center at 42cnd, which was ideally located as a nexus for the city and region. Two and a half years later we had to relocate to 105 Madison Avenue because the Graduate Center was growing and running out of space.

At its peak, CUE generated revenues from federal, state, and local and foundation grants and contracts of about \$5 million a year. It hosted a full time staff of 120, including about 50 professional staff, 30 of them with doctorates. The specialties of the house included school desegregation planning and research, decentralization planning, program evaluation studies (about 140 of them altogether), early childhood education R&D, curriculum product development, and community learning center development for parents and neighborhood leaders. CUE did some world class pioneering in race relations

research, early cognitive development, bilingual learning, dyslexia, elementary science education, and career education. Above all, our publications, journals, films, and library conceptualized and publicized the very idea of urban education as a focus.

Among those who were outstanding members of the full-time staff were Nelson Aldrich, essayist and journalist to this day; Marilyn Gittell, Gladys Lang, sociologist; Arthur Brodbeck, psychologist; Herbert Kohl, philosopher; David Outerbridge, editor and later publisher; William O. Jenkins and Francis Palmer, psychologists; Sylvester King, went on to head New York Board of Teacher Examiners; Eugene Maleska, former Assistant Superintendent of New York City Public Schools, and later New York Times crossword puzzle editor for 25 years; Nathan Brown, former Deputy Superintendent and later Superintendent of the New York City Schools; Herbert Gans and Gerald Handel, sociologists; and Tom Scott, later Director of the Baltimore Museum School of Fine Art.

Among those who did outstanding work on CUE subcontracts and mini-grants were Eli Ginzberg; Ivar Berg who authored THE GREAT TRAINING ROBBERY for CUE; David Fox of CCNY; Miriam Goldberg, Robert Thorndike; Meyer Weinberg, Lillian Weber of open education fame; Colin Greer, author of THE GREAT SCHOOL LEGEND for CUE; Albert Murray, a black scholar and jazz history specialist; and David Rogers, who wrote 110 LIVINGSTON STREET for CUE. There were in total about 400 consulting and participating faculty from the consortium institutions at work on CUE projects by 1968.

If CUE was this good, why did it die in 1973, nine years after you and I created it? Well, the Nixon Administration was determined to wipe out school desegregation and related OCR endeavors, and it loathed what was left over by way of community development and community participation efforts from the Great Society. What was tops on our agenda was eliminated from the federal agenda. In addition, CUE did not fit the mold built by USOE: it continued to do research, to publish, and to be critical and controversial long after USOE made these activities taboo. CUE also failed to become programmatically thematic in the manner USOE prescribe. You left when the university and college consortium concept began to fade for USOE, and I left in 1972 when I thought that might create new enthusiasm in Washington. It did not. The trustees you mobilized, moreover, remained true to the idea that CUE should exist as a disposable corporation and not just live on as a contract "body shop." They moved to dissolve CUE in April 1973.

I hope this will be enough for now. Helen and I hope you will come to visit us in Lexington when you make your next pilgrimage to your roots or, if you relocate to the Bay Area, that you'll let us know how to get in touch with you there.

Very cordially,



Bob Dentier

II The Politics of Structural Change in American Higher Education

The Case of Open Admissions at the City University of New York

JEROME KARABEL*

Of the numerous reforms introduced into American higher education during the 1960s, perhaps none did more to reduce inequality of educational opportunity than the adoption of open admissions by the nation's third largest institution of higher education, the City University of New York (CUNY). The sheer magnitude of the expansion and redistribution of opportunity brought about by open admissions is illustrated by the enrollment figures. From a freshman class of fewer than 20,000 in 1969, first-year enrollment at the City University surged in 1970, the first year of open admissions, to more than 35,000 (Board of Higher Education, 1974: 19). Compared to previous enrollees in the City University, the new students were considerably more likely to be from minority backgrounds; between 1969 and 1971, the proportion of the freshman class that was Black and Puerto Rican rose from 20.0 percent to 31.2 percent (Lavin et al., 1981: 65). Further, open admissions meant that many students who had been tracked into

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non-academic programs in secondary school—a disportionate number of them from minority or low-income backgrounds—were able to attend college for the first time: in 1970, 67 percent of high school graduates with vocational diplomas and 50 percent of those with general degrees enrolled in college, most of them (80 percent) at CUNY (Trimbacher, 1973: 33). Open admissions, conclude the authors (Birnbaum and Goldman, 1971: 69) of a careful longitudinal study of New York City high school graduates, was "the sole factor responsible for increasing the college-going rate in New York City to 75.7 percent, an astoundingly high figure, especially when compared to the national average of approximately 55 percent."

The large-scale expansion and redistribution of valued public resources rarely take place without struggle, and the case of open admissions to the City University of New York is no exception to this general rule. The objective of this paper will thus be to identify the political dynamics of this struggle. The examination of open admissions at the City University will, it is hoped, also help more generally to illuminate the polities of structural change in American higher education, for conflicts which elsewhere have remained latent became dramatically manifest in New York in 1969. An analysis of the case of the City University will thus be worthwhile not only in its own right, but also as an example of what happens when the racial and class tensions that always simmer below the surface of American life overflow into a domain that is only rarely the scene of overt political struggle, the domain of higher education.

selecting the best students and that, accordingly, it should be replaced with a procedure placing more emphasis on standardized tests, particularly the SAT (Heil et al., 1961). And a year later, the authors of a major planning document submitted to the Committee to Look to the Future of the Board of Higher Education (BHE) concluded that, if anything, their own enrollment projections should perhaps be revised downwards because non-whites, who promised to be an ever-larger proportion of the population, had less of a "college-going propensity" than the middle-class whites they were replacing' (Holy, 1962: 93-95).

At a time when other public institutions were expanding at break-neck speed, CUNY was inching forward at a snail's pace: indeed, between 1952 and 1961, the size of the senior college freshman class statewide had actually declined from 8,859 to 8,563—a drop in its percentage share of the high school graduating class from 17 to 13 percent (see Table 1). Under its conservative Board of Higher Education Chairman, Gustave Rosenberg, 'what CUNY had done, however, was continue to fulfill its traditional function of educating a small minority of the City's high school graduates, most of them Jewish and in the top segment of their graduating class. Yet this sub-population, the source of CUNY's renown as a ladder of upward mobility for the City's talented and ambitious poor', was rapidly declining by the early 1960s. For the City's huge Jewish community, which once provided

Table 1

New York City High School Graduates Related to New College Admissions to the City University, 1952-1961

Year	High School Graduates	Total	Baccalaureate Matriculants			Total
			Day	Evening	Percent in	
1952	52,778	8,859	15.2	1.6	1.6	16.8
1953	59,480	9,194	13.9	1.5	1.5	15.5
1954	49,780	8,131	14.6	1.7	1.7	16.3
1955	52,140	7,785	13.4	1.5	1.5	14.9
1956	51,221	7,553	13.4	1.3	1.3	14.7
1957	50,473	8,322	14.3	2.2	2.2	16.5
1958	53,508	7,775	13.4	1.1	1.1	14.5
1959	57,050	7,550	12.3	0.9	0.9	13.2
1960	66,425	9,601	13.8	0.7	0.7	14.5
1961	65,886	8,563	12.3	0.7	0.7	13.0

Source: Holy et al. (1962: 125).

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Table 3

Undergraduate Enrollments for the City University of New York for 1950 and 1960

	WHITE			NON-WHITE		
	NYC College age group Year	Attending City University	%	NYC College age group (17-20)	Attending City University	%
1950	366,175	50,678	13.8	43,187	2,667	6.2
1960	322,628	66,846	20.7	56,341	3,519	6.2

Source: Huly, et al. (1962: 92).

the City University with perhaps as many as 95 percent of its students (Glazer, 1973: 76), was increasingly abandoning the City for the suburbs; further, of those who remained, a not insubstantial number took advantage of the growing number of scholarships available at elite private institutions that had, under the banner of meritocracy, recently relaxed their ethnically exclusionary admissions practices (Wechsler, 1977; Synott, 1979).

The decline in New York City's Jewish population was part of a set of larger changes in the ethnic and racial composition of the City, changes with ominous implications for the City University. Between 1950 and 1960, New York City had witnessed the exodus of well over 800,000 whites (see Table 2), most of them middle class, and the arrival of an almost equivalent number of Blacks and Puerto Ricans, many of them impoverished and poorly educated. Yet despite the growing importance of the minority population, the proportion of non-white college-age youth attending CUNY had remained constant at 6.2 percent (see Table 3); in contrast, whites, who, in 1950, already attended CUNY in more than double the proportion of non-whites (13.8 percent), increased their advantage to triple (20.7 percent) by 1960.

Thus when Bowker became chancellor, he was taking the helm of an institution that, in its stubborn maintenance of highly restrictive ad-

missions practices, was clinging to a declining constituency, the City's diminishing Jewish population, at the same time that it was failing to serve the most rapidly growing sector of New York City society: the burgeoning minority community. An astute administrator, Bowker knew that this situation could not long endure in a public, tax-supported system of higher education, especially at a time when Blacks were actively challenging their historic exclusion from the nation's major social and economic institutions. Indeed, in his inaugural speech, Bowker (1963: 3) noted "changes in the ethnic composition of the City's population," and laid out two major themes that were to run throughout his administration: that the City University has to reach out to the children of the "newer migrations" and serve for them, as it did for the immigrants who preceded them, as avenues of upward mobility at the same time that it adapts itself to the rapidly changing "employment profile" of the City (1963: 6-8).¹

In his introductory statement in the 1964 *Master Plan for the City University of New York*, Bowker made explicit his concern that the changing racial composition of the City might, in the absence of positive action by CUNY, threaten vital institutional interests, for it raised the specter of an actual decline in University enrollments. Noting that the percentage of Whites in the City's public schools had declined from 68 to 57 percent during the previous six years, Bowker concluded that:

The Board of Education has recently made public figures which classify the public school students as Negro, Puerto Rican, and "other." These figures indicate that the percentage of "others" has declined

Table 2

Estimates of New York City population by ethnic group, 1950-1970
(Numbers in thousands)

Ethnic group	1950	1960	1970	Percent Change		
				1950-60	1960-70	
TOTAL	7,892	7,782	7,895	-1.4	1.5	
White	6,880 (87.2%)	6,053 (77.8%)	5,302 (67.2%)	-12.0	-12.4	
Negro and other races	766 (9.7%)	1,117 (14.4%)	1,781 (22.6%)	45.6	59.4	
Puerto Rican	246 (3.1%)	613 (7.9%)	612 (10.3%)	149.2	32.5	

NOTE: 1950 and 1970 population for white and Negro and other races, excluding Puerto Rican estimated. According to the Bureau of the Census, 92 percent of New York State's Puerto Rican population was classified as white in 1970; this factor was applied to the New York City data for 1970. In 1960, 96 percent of the New York City Puerto Rican population was classified as white; this factor was applied to the 1950 data.
Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Perspectives on New York in Transition*, 1974.

from sixty-eight percent to fifty-seven percent in six years; the future is anyone's guess; but it may well drop to fifty percent in the period covered by this plan. Such trends have important implications for the City University, which draws eighty-five percent of its students from the public high schools. (The other fifteen percent come from non-public high schools, primarily parochial.) If we look at the areas of poverty in the city, we find major erosion of the schools. We find high schools with only twenty, or thirty, graduates with academic diplomas, and other factors which could lead us to say that higher education is an unrealizable aspiration for many and that our projections should be revised downward accordingly. Nothing could be more destructive for the City of New York and for the individuals involved.

For Bowker, as for any other university administrator, declining enrollment posed a direct threat to institutional interests, for they implied reduced budgets and hence fewer resources under administrative control.

But the most immediate threat to CUNY posed by the rapid demographic changes then taking place in the City was above all political. For as long as the demand for places in the University far exceeded the supply—and in 1964, CUNY had to turn away two-thirds of its applicants—the issue of admissions would remain a volatile one. Any attempt to expand opportunities for minorities at CUNY at the expense of other groups would, it seemed clear, arouse fierce opposition. At the same time, however, the sheer size of the City's growing minority populations required that they be incorporated into the coalition of groups supporting CUNY—a task that, in turn, could hardly be accomplished without increasing non-white enrollment far above the 5 percent level where it had remained during the decade from 1952 to 1961.¹⁹

Bowker's attempted solution to this dilemma was the swift expansion of the number of places in the freshman class, with special emphasis on rapidly increasing the enrollment of Blacks and Puerto Ricans. That he followed this path was hardly surprising, for by 1964 leaders of the Black community were already raising pointed questions about the paucity of minority students in the City University (Gordon, 1975: 173–174). Bowker's first step toward increasing minority enrollment was at the community college level, where he sponsored the development of College Discovery, a program which in 1964 and 1965 enrolled 760 students, over 40 percent of them Black and about 25 percent Puerto Rican. At the senior college level, the state legislature in 1966 established the Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowl-

edge (SEEK), a program demanded by black legislators (see Gordon, 1975: 196–200) and covertly sponsored by Bowker. By 1967, 1,256 students were enrolled in the SEEK program at CUNY's senior colleges (Rosen et al., 1973: 60). Finally, in 1968, the Chancellor's Office developed still another scheme for admitting more minority students—the Top 100 Scholars Program. Under its auspices, any student ranking among the top 100 graduates of each City high school would, regardless of actual grade point average, be offered admission to the City University. Since, however, many eligible students had already been admitted to CUNY or some other college, the 100 Scholars Program actually yielded only 154 additional students, 72 percent of them Black or Puerto Rican (Wechsler, 1977: 275–280).

These programs, though not nearly drastic enough to satisfy the increasingly militant minority community, did succeed in alienating much of what remained, despite its numerical decline, CUNY's most important constituency: the white middle class. For at the very moment when the minority-oriented College Discovery and SEEK Programs were expanding, the cut-off point for students admitted through the regular admissions procedure was actually rising. Indeed, between 1967 and 1968, the grade-point average²⁰ required for admission to the City University's senior colleges increased substantially (Gordon, 1975: 204). The University did, to be sure, note that CDP and SEEK students gained admittance in addition to, rather than in place of, regular acceptances, but to many white students excluded from the University despite having higher GPAs, this argument was somewhat less than compelling.

In August 1968, in the wake of the widespread urban upheavals that followed Martin Luther King's assassination and in an atmosphere of acute racial tension in New York City, the Board of Higher Education requested that the Chancellor report on progress toward "the end that minority groups shall be represented in the units of the University in the same proportion as they are represented among all high school graduates of the City." In a preamble spelling out the urgency of the new action, the Board cited:

The existence in our City of a condition of social emergency involving deep social inequities and injustices and of massive individual and group frustrations with resultant inter-group tensions and resentments . . .

The need of New York City high school graduates from economically,

Table 4
Blacks Need to Use Violence to Win Rights: Blacks

	Don't Need % Use	Must Use %	Not Sure %
Total Blacks	60	28	12
21-34	52	37	11
35-49	60	27	13
50+	73	14	13
8th grade	70	17	13
High school	59	29	12
College	49	39	12

Source: Harris and Swanson (1970:52)

socially and educationally deprived neighborhoods and homes to be provided with equalized opportunity for post-high school education is increasingly urgent, and itself represents a social danger requiring our immediate consideration, deliberation and action . . .

Quite clearly, a key factor in moving the Board to take such drastic measures was the prospect that aroused fear among liberal reformers throughout the City—the specter of violent insurrections in the City's sprawling ghettos.

The enunciation of the objective of proportional representation of minority high-school graduates in the units of the City University, to the Board a matter of elementary social justice as well as political necessity, was, from the vantage point of much of the City's white population, an outrage. The Jewish community, in particular, was profoundly upset by this declaration, for it saw in it the reappearance of the very device that had been used to restrict its opportunities in the past, the hated racial quota.¹¹ Well aware that Jews were disproportionately represented in the University, Jewish organizations made known the intensity of their opposition to any scheme that would, in their view, use racial rather than "merit"¹² criteria in determining who was to gain access to the University (Gordon, 1975; Wechsler, 1977).

Thus, by the fall of 1968, Bowker's plan to expand minority access to CUNY, and thereby to incorporate the City's growing Black and Puerto Rican population into a broadened coalition of support for the University, had arrived at an impasse. On the one hand, some progress had been made, but not nearly enough to placate the more militant and vocal members of the minority community. On the other hand, the rather modest attempts to increase minority enrollment that had taken place had been more than enough to arouse the hostility of the City's increasingly restive white majority. For an individual as politically astute as Bowker, the lesson must have been clear: no plan that expanded opportunities for Blacks and Puerto Ricans at the expense of the City's white ethnic groups would provide the University with the broad base of political support that it needed. Yet there was, perhaps, still one path out of the apparent impasse, if only Bowker could find a way to follow it: to open the University to everyone and, in so doing, to decisively end the zero-sum character of the struggle for access.

The Struggle at City College: Crisis and Opportunity
When, in the spring of 1969, more than 150 Black and Puerto Rican students seized eight buildings at the City University's flagship institu-

tion, the City College (CCNY), they did so in a setting of seething racial tension. Indeed, at the very time of the crisis at City College, public opinion polling data revealed that a substantial proportion of the City's Afro-American community agreed that "Blacks need to use violence to win rights" (See Table 4). Interestingly, this sentiment was most pervasive among college-educated Blacks.

In such a context, the very location of City College, at the edge of the huge ghetto community of Harlem, seemed to carry with it the very real possibility that trouble on the campus might well spill over into the neighborhood, thereby provoking a city-wide racial conflagration.

For at a time when the notion of community control of public institutions enjoyed widespread support among Blacks, the City College remained an overwhelmingly white institution.¹³ Indeed, as late as 1968, minority representation had reached only 9 percent, hardly an impressive figure in an almost exclusively Black and Puerto Rican neighborhood, especially in an institution supported by the taxpayers' money. Quite clearly, something drastic had to be done about minority underrepresentation.

The changes demanded by the militant Black and Puerto Rican students at City were, however, unacceptable to all but a small minority of the City's powerful white liberal community. For what the militants initially proposed, that future classes entering at City College reflect the racial composition of the City's high schools, had the unmistakable ring of "quota" to it. Yet if the demand for racially proportionate representation in CUNY was decisively rejected, the policy finally adopted, that of open admissions, was in many ways more radical than anything

Table 5

Occupational Structure by Ethnicity (Males Only)
New York City, 1963-64

Ethnicity	Profes-					Ser-		
	scri-	Cleri-	Crafts-	Opera-	Service,			
	profe-	manu-	men	labor-				
	sional	fac-	sales	ers	%			
	technical	rial	%	%	%			
Males	16.2	16.7	15.5	18.7	16.5	16.4	922	
Negro	8.5	5.1	14.5	13.7	27.4	30.8	117	
Puerto Rican	4.7	4.7	9.3	19.8	41.9	19.8	86	
Irish	7.7	25.6	17.9	20.5	2.6	25.6	39	
Italian	8.1	14.7	17.6	25.0	16.2	18.4	136	
Other Catholic	17.3	13.1	10.7	25.6	12.5	20.8	168	
Other Protestant	25.5	15.7	18.6	18.6	8.8	12.7	102	
Native-born Jewish	31.1	28.0	24.8	7.5	5.6	3.1	161	
Foreign-born Jewish	15.9	28.4	9.1	22.7	19.3	4.5	88	

Source: J. Elinson, D. W. Haberman, C. Gall, *Ethnic and Educational Data on Adults in New York City 1963-64*. Columbia University, School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine, 1967.

defeated: 1,313,161 to 765,468. Ominously for liberals, the returns revealed a crack in the City's previously solid minority-Jewish alliance: while Blacks and Puerto Ricans favored the measure by substantial margins, most Jews opposed it. And within the Jewish community itself, class cleavages became starkly visible. Whereas the affluent and better-educated Jews favored the retention of the CRB, their less privileged brethren decisively rejected it (Rogowsky et al., 1971: 72-75).

The crack which had appeared in Black-Jewish relations in 1966 had, by the summer of 1968, become a massive fissure. Though the Lindsay administration can hardly be held solely responsible for this growing cleavage, it would be hard to deny that many of the policies that it had pursued in the hope of incorporating the City's minority groups into a new liberal coalition headed by the Mayor had the effect, if not the intent, of exacerbating tensions between Blacks and Jews. These policies were pursued in a number of domains, including housing and welfare, but the one policy which aroused more hostility between the two groups than any other took place in an arena that had been a traditional Jewish stronghold—the educational system. This policy was, of course, the promotion of school decentralization and commu-

A. Class, Race, and New York City Politics

The accession to the mayoralty by John Lindsay in 1965 augured the beginning of an era of extreme instability in New York City politics. A reform Republican in an overwhelmingly Democratic city, Lindsay won the election by a narrow margin and with considerably less than a majority of the vote. That he was able to win at all was due in good measure to the substantial support he had received from the City's reform (i.e. anti-machine) Democrats. Since, however, these reform Democrats adhered to quite liberal positions on many issues, responsiveness to their demands threatened to alienate the large number of regular Republicans who, despite the Conservative Party candidacy of William Buckley, had voted for Lindsay. The coalition that had brought Lindsay to power was thus not only weak, but also inherently unstable (Bellush and David, 1971).

Looking toward 1969, Lindsay must, accordingly, have realized that a failure to make inroads into additional sectors of the electorate would almost certainly prove fatal. The logical target group was the City's rapidly expanding minority population (David, 1971). By incorporating them into his coalition, Lindsay would not only solidify his alliance with liberal reform Democrats,¹⁵ but also endear himself to the highly influential segment of the City's corporate community that recognized that its prosperity depended upon the continued possession of an increasingly rare commodity—domestic tranquility.

In a city in which ethnic and racial differences correspond, to a striking degree, to class distinctions (see Table 5), Lindsay's attempt to build an alliance between liberals (mostly Jewish and Protestant), on the one hand, and racial minorities, on the other, was, in the final analysis, an effort to construct a coalition of the top and bottom of the City's class structure against the middle. In his first year in office, Lindsay made a dramatic gesture toward the City's Blacks and Puerto Ricans by strongly advocating the retention of a controversial Civilian Review Board (CRB) whose function was widely perceived to be the investigation of complaints of police brutality against minorities. The CRB was submitted to a referendum in 1966 and was overwhelmingly

nity control, and its pursuit was to bring the Black and Jewish communities into a head-to-head confrontation.

Supported by a peculiar—if, for the Lindsay administration, characteristic—alliance of affluent whites and ghetto Blacks,¹³ community control was bitterly opposed by the City's predominantly Jewish teachers' union. What union members feared, especially in a climate in which Black nationalism was on the upsurge, was that race would begin to supersede "merit" as the criterion by which teachers and administrators would be hired and promoted¹⁴ (Gordon, 1975: 203). The depth of their fear was vividly demonstrated by the militance of their response to an attempt on the part of the Black community to gain control of the schools in the Oceanhill-Brownsville district: a city-wide strike in the fall of 1968 which closed the schools for more than two months. While the union—and the middle and lower-middle class community of which it was a part—was victorious in this particular battle, the City's Blacks and Puerto Ricans continued to struggle vigorously in other fronts.

In a sense, the struggle over community control symbolized what had become of politics in New York City during the Lindsay administration. An alliance of sorts had emerged between the upper and lower classes of the City's minority population. What this alliance had failed to do, however, was to provide any benefits of note or any sense of participation to the City's white ethnic middle and working classes—Italian, Irish, and Jewish. By the spring of 1969, the consequences of this policy had become apparent: if the Mayor wished to win reelection in the fall, he must somehow find a way to deepen his support among his highly volatile minority constituency while, at the same time, doing everything possible to avoid further alienating the City's beleaguered white middle and working classes.

B. The Road to Open Admissions

In such a racially charged atmosphere, the demands of the Black and Puerto Rican students at City College in the spring of 1969 presented Chancellor Bowker with both a crisis and an opportunity: a crisis which, if handled badly, could cause CUNY's fragile coalition of support to unravel, but also an opportunity which, if handled well, could lead to the attainment of one of Bowker's most cherished objectives: the massive expansion of the University and, indirectly, of his own power. In many ways, a representative of what in recent Marxist discussions of the theory of the state has come to be referred to as a "state

manager"¹⁵ (see Block, 1977; 1980), Bowker used the momentum established by class and racial struggle to implement a reform which served the organizational interests of the institution over which he presided.

As far back as 1966, Bowker succeeded in putting in the Master Plan the goal of providing a place in CUNY for all high-school graduates by 1975 (Board of Higher Education, 1966:viii). Yet it was not until the crisis at City College in the spring of 1969 that Bowker had an opportunity to accelerate the rather remote target date of 1975 and, in so doing, to put an end to the increasingly ferocious annual struggle over admissions—a struggle which, in its palpable ethnic and racial implications, posed a grave political threat to the University. Thus, the very gravity of the crisis at CCNY served to present Bowker with an opportunity to accomplish a task that fulfilled fundamental organizational interests: in his own words, "to remove admissions as a political issue in New York City."¹⁶

The initial resolution, however, of the conflict at CCNY—the adoption by the City College administration and the demonstrating students on May 23 of a dual admissions scheme which would admit half of each entering class by the traditional criteria and the other half by virtue of residence in designated poverty areas "without regard to grades" (Weschler, 1977:281)—threatened instead to consummate the estrangement from CCNY of what was still its most important constituency: the City's Jewish community. The reason was simple. Jews had by far the most to lose from such a policy and, at a more general level, felt profoundly threatened by a scheme which clearly constituted in practice, if not in formal appellation, a quota system. Had there been any lingering doubts that the dual admissions scheme might nonetheless be viable, they were rapidly dispelled by the enraged reactions of all the major candidates then running for mayor: Provacino, Wagner, Badillo, Marchi, Scheuer, and, finally, Lindsay himself.¹⁷ By May 29, even the strongly liberal City College Academic Senate, which only a few days before had been perceived as so desperate for a settlement of the dispute that it would, despite misgivings, endorse the dual admissions scheme¹⁸, voted it down by a margin of 42 to 30.

Rejection of the dual admissions scheme did not, however, solve the underlying problem, a problem by this time so intense that it threatened not only the fundamental institutional interests of the City University, but also the short-term political survival of Major Lindsay

himself. Yet if the abortive dual admissions plan did nothing to bring the increasingly bitter struggle for places in the University to a halt, it did provide a most favorable context in which Chancellor Bowker could present the plan that he had favored long before the South Campus seizure—a program of “open admissions” that would provide access to CUNY for 100 percent of the City’s graduating seniors. The appeal of such a plan was immediately obvious to all the concerned parties, for by ending the zero-sum character of the conflict over access, it offered the possibility of massively expanding opportunities for Blacks and Puerto Ricans without further alienating the City’s aroused white ethnics.

In a sense, then, open admissions was not, as some Marxist analysts have suggested (Davidson, 1974:66), extracted from Bowker by insurgent students as a “concession”. Instead, the demonstrations at CCNY presented Bowker with an extraordinary opportunity to use the threat of an impending racial explosion in the City as a means of gathering support for an open admissions policy that served the City University’s own organizational interests in building a broad coalition of support. Indeed, one University administrator close to Bowker claimed that the Chancellor had favored open admissions from the moment he had come to CUNY:

Bowker was for open admissions in 1963. He waited until he had enough public pressure to push for it. It was an internal (within the University) decision, not a function of the demonstrations, or the politicians. That is . . . he waited until he had a demonstration big enough he could get support from. It wasn’t the demonstrations that changed us; we’d weathered demonstrations before (Rosen et al., 1973:65).²²

Timothy Healy, CUNY’s Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, put the matter even more graphically. For it was his impression that:

Albert Bowker decided two years before the shit hit the fan that open admissions would be a good idea and waited for the external causing agent to surface so that he could say: “See, they’re forcing me.” And then persuaded his own staff and effectively did the decision himself.²³

The South Campus seizure, occurring in the midst of a period of intense and tense that even minor incidents seemingly

could ignite a city-wide racial conflagration, provided Bowker with the momentum he needed. Moving rapidly to capitalize upon the widespread feeling that the time was ripe to end the dangerous impasse over access to CUNY, Bowker offered his own dramatic solution: to let everyone in. Even the radical students, it is worth stressing, had never proposed anything as drastic as this. Yet Bowker had sound organizational reasons for putting forward such a plan. Open admissions promised not only to end the quasi-war over admissions between Blacks and Jews that had threatened to destroy CUNY’s fragile political base, but also to provide the University (*and* the University administration) with budgetary resources of a magnitude otherwise unattainable.

Bowker and the Mobilization of Support for Open Admissions

A consummate politician, Bowker was successful in mobilizing a formidable array of forces on behalf of open admissions. Already, during the early stages of the crisis at City College, he was busy laying the ideological groundwork for universal access. At his urging, the Board of Higher Education, at its meeting of May 4, passed a resolution noting that the revised Master Plan of 1964 had committed the University to a policy of “open enrollment” and that the earliest realization of this goal was “a matter of the first priority.”²⁴ By May 25, the idea of open admissions had already entered the realm of public debate, having been endorsed by former Mayor Wagner (then a candidate for mayor) as an alternative to the dual admissions scheme then still under consideration at City College. According to a CUNY administrator close to Bowker, however, the idea was not Wagner’s own but had instead been suggested to him by the Chancellor. Bowker was also instrumental in persuading the faculty union, the United Federation of College Teachers, to endorse a policy of “total open enrollment” on May 29, 1969.²⁵

From disparate and previously embattled sectors of civil society in New York City came a loudening chorus of support for open admissions—a chorus conducted, it must be said, to a considerable extent by the Chancellor himself. Once the very idea of universal access had been raised, open admissions did, to be sure, arouse a substantial amount of spontaneous enthusiasm among certain social groups—above all, the minority community, which may have viewed it as the only politically viable way of increasing its representation in the University, and the faculty, a major part of which viewed it as an act of social justice as well as a means of insuring expanded enrollment.*

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Further, there was a real logic to open admissions, for it was perhaps the only way to accommodate minority demands for massively expanded access without totally estranging both the University and the Lindsay administration from the City's restive white majority. Yet, this said, it is nonetheless striking that no group or organization had espoused open admissions prior to its advocacy by Chancellor Bowker.

A. Organized Labor: A Pillar of Support

One of the most critical groups mobilized by Bowker in support of open admissions was one which the City University had traditionally failed to serve very well—the City's predominantly Catholic, white working class. As the struggle between Blacks and Jews for places in CUNY grew ever more intense during the 1966–1969 period, the City's white working class came to feel increasingly neglected by the City University, as they did by many other municipal institutions during the Lindsay years. Indeed, according to Board of Higher Education Vice-Chairman Francis Keppel, a "bloody row" would have resulted by 1969 from further efforts to expand opportunities for Blacks and Puerto Ricans without increasing opportunities for whites as well.¹⁵ Bowker's solution to this dilemma was to promise the labor movement a large chunk of the expanding CUNY pie and, in so doing, to convert these deep-seated feelings of neglect into a powerful commitment on behalf of open admissions.

In this effort, Bowker was notably successful, for in June the City's highly influential Central Labor Council unanimously endorsed open admissions.¹⁶ At the special meeting of the Board of Higher Education on June 16, speaker after speaker from the Central Council expressed organized labor's unequivocal support for the University's plans to open its doors to everyone. The remarks of these speakers revealed considerable sophistication about the ways in which the educational opportunities of the children of unionized workers were restricted by their class position. As several of them noted, the offspring of union members generally possessed neither a GPA high enough to qualify for admissions under regular standards nor a family income low enough to qualify for College Discovery or SEEK.¹⁷ The strong support for open admissions provided by the New York City labor movement—by all accounts a crucial factor in its ultimate acceptance by City and state politicians¹⁸—proved to be a genuine expression of the predominantly Catholic rank-and-file's objective interests. For the main beneficiaries of open admissions turned out to be

neither Blacks nor Puerto Ricans, but Catholics. Indeed, more than one-third of all CUNY accepted by virtue of open admissions were of non-Hispanic, Catholic background (see Table 6). Thus, while the mobilization of the City's labor movement on behalf of open admissions may have been in part an expression of an essentially defensive posture (e.g., no more benefits for the City's underclass in the absence of concessions to hard-pressed working men), it nonetheless played a key role in making CUNY more accessible to a constituency that it had long neglected: the City's huge white working class.

Table 6
Percent of All Beneficiaries in 1970 Belonging To Each Group At:
Senior Colleges Community Colleges All of CUNY

	<i>Senior Colleges</i>	<i>Community Colleges</i>	<i>All of CUNY</i>
Jews	31	21	23
Catholics	33	39	35
Blacks	13	16	18
Hispanics	10	10	10
Other	13	13	14

Source: Lavin et al. (1979: 66)

B. The Jewish Community: Class Cleavages and Political Divisions

If the support for open admissions of the Central Labor Council is readily explicable, the same cannot be said for the endorsement by several major Jewish organizations of Bowker's policy of universal access. After all, it was the Jewish community that had played a decisive role in blocking the "dual admissions" plan at City College, and it was the Jewish community that had by far the most to lose from any radical change in CUNY's admissions process. Yet, in the end, the official Jewish organizations were to embrace open admissions firmly if not passionately.

In a way, the very intensity of Jewish resistance to the "dual admissions" scheme had made it exceedingly difficult for Jewish organizations to oppose open admissions, especially when it became clear that it was perhaps the only viable solution to the seemingly never-ending struggle over access. The bitter conflict at City College had, leaders of the Jewish community were well aware, done much to inflame the tense relations that already existed between Blacks and Jews in New York City, and it was, accordingly, imperative to make every effort to avoid any acts that might further fan the flames of racial discord.

Further, the central argument that Jews had used against the "dual admissions" scheme—that it would deprive qualified students of a place in the University—had no applicability to Bowker's open admissions plan. Indeed, to oppose open admissions was to appear to object not only to Black students taking the seats of white students, but also to Black students sitting next to white students. As a member of the Ad Hoc Committee for City University put it, the climate of the times was such that "after a while, you began to feel like kind of a house if you weren't for open admissions" (Rosen et al., 1973:65).

Despite these political and ideological pressures, support for open admissions in the Jewish community was by no means unanimous. While such "establishment" Jewish organizations as the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee endorsed open admissions, less respectable Jewish organizations such as the Jewish Defense League and the Queens Jewish Community Council opposed it. If there is an underlying pattern to this split, it is one that basically corresponds to class cleavages within the Jewish community.¹³

While direct data on the attitudes of New York City's Jewish population toward open admissions are lacking, more general evidence on Jewish attitudes toward Blacks at this point in time corroborates the existence of sharp internal class divisions. Indeed, polling data gathered at the very moment when the tension surrounding the events at City College was at its peak—the period between April 25¹⁴ and May 20, 1969—show that while a majority of Jews believed that Blacks wanted more than they were entitled to, such sentiments were much more widespread among low-income and less educated Jews (see Table 7). Similarly, college-educated Jews were much more likely to

believe that Black demands were justified than were their less educated, and more directly threatened, counterparts (see Table 8). Thus, though no polls were ever conducted on the specific issue of open admissions, the available evidence does suggest that the class cleavages so visible in Jewish attitudes toward Black demands in general were, in all likelihood, replicated by class divisions on the particular question of open admissions.

Table 8

Blacks in New York Are Justified in Demands: Jews				
	Are %	Are Not %	Depends %	Not Sure %
8th Grade	15	33	45	7
High School	24	37	35	4
College	44	17	36	3

Source: Harris and Swanson (1970: 60)

Not surprisingly, then, organizations dominated by more affluent Jews—Jews who, it should be noted, were no longer dependent on the City University for their class reproduction¹⁵—were willing to endorse open admissions. Sensitive to charges of racism and interested in maintaining good relations with those gentile elites which saw in persistent Black-Jewish tensions a threat to the social fabric of the City, the respectable Jewish organizations in the end lobbied on behalf of Chancellor Bowker's program of universal access to CUNY.

The hard-pressed Jewish lower-middle class, however, saw in open admissions a threat to the value of the CUNY degree—a degree which, given the rapid decline of opportunities for self-employment then taking place in New York City, was for many Jewish families their only means of maintaining their relative class position.¹⁶ A split of sorts thus emerged in the Jewish community between "elite" and "grass-roots" organizations over open admissions.¹⁷ Yet in the last analysis, it was the former organizations, possessing both more resources and greater respectability, that had a much stronger impact on the deliberations of the Board of Higher Education on the matter, despite the fact that the latter groups may well have more accurately reflected the attitudes and anxieties of the majority of the City's Jewish population.

Table 7

Blacks Want More Than They Are Entitled To: Jews			
	Do %	Don't %	Not Sure %
Under \$10,000	51	24	25
\$10,000-\$15,000	42	43	15
Over \$15,000	40	37	23
8th Grade	59	8	33
High School	51	29	20
College	38	44	18

Source: Harris and Swanson (1970: 62)

C. The Corporate Community and the Preservation of Domestic Tranquillity

With the most powerful Jewish organizations expressing solid, if not warm, support for universal access, Bowker had succeeded in incorporating one of open admissions' potentially most formidable opponents into his expansionist coalition. Yet there remained another key group that potentially constituted a serious source of opposition to so costly and radical a scheme—the City's small but influential corporate community.

But why would the City's upper class, and the immensely wealthy and powerful corporate community of which it was an organic part, support open admissions, a policy that some must have felt would provide the City's future employees with much more education than they could possibly need? The answer, it seems, is inextricably intertwined with the apparent gravity of the threat of racial insurrection in New York City at that time. Not long before, it must be remembered, massive radical upheavals had swept across Detroit, Newark, and numerous other American cities. With the focal point of the recent crisis over admissions at City College—an institution located at the edge of the immense ghetto community of Harlem—the struggle for access threatened to ignite in New York City a race riot far worse than any that had hitherto been seen. Thus, when Bowker came up with a plan that held out the hope of preserving domestic tranquillity at a time when it was an increasingly rare commodity, "the City's worried business elite was predisposed to embrace it."

In addition to the belief that universal access might help defuse the racial tensions that had accumulated during the prolonged and bitter struggle over admissions to CUNY, members of the corporate community had another powerful reason to support open admissions: it promised to strengthen a social order in visible crisis by serving as a vehicle of upward mobility for the City's increasingly militant Black and Puerto Rican underclass. In a period of widespread elite fears concerning the spread of radicalism among the ghetto masses, this argument—which implicitly promised the construction of a Black and Puerto Rican bourgeoisie—must have been an appealing one indeed. And if the sheer cost of such an undertaking might, in bad times, have aroused the hostility of the business community, the late 1960s were years in which the accumulation process was still working fairly smoothly. To much of the capitalist class, the apparent availability of a large surplus, combined with the huge social costs of not doing something to stem the

rising tide of ghetto militancy, must have made open admissions seem like a relatively inexpensive way of helping to insure the survival of a social order in visible crisis.

Yet if the corporate community was willing to go along with universal access, it must he said that a careful evaluation of the available evidence yields the conclusion that big business was more noteworthy by its absence in the process leading to open admissions than by its presence. Indeed, not a single individual interviewed pointed to the City's large corporations as playing a significant role in the battle surrounding open admissions. CUNY officials did, to be sure, frequently seize the opportunity to declare that the City University would adapt itself to the employment profile of an increasingly complex local economy and thereby help match the training of the labor force with the changing needs of employers,¹⁷ but these appeals were targeted at least as much to the practically-minded politicians who controlled CUNY's budget as to the corporate community itself.

It is thus a serious distortion to claim, as have some Marxist analyses (Davidson, 1974:64), that the factor that "weighed most heavily" in the adoption of open admissions was the "changing nature of the New York City job market." Instead, it would be closer to the truth to say that the "manpower argument" was used to provide legitimization for a policy of rapid expansion which the University had decided upon for basically organizational and political reasons. If the promise of trained manpower convinced some businessmen of the utility of universal access to higher education, then so much the better. But for open admissions to become a reality, what was needed was not the active support of the corporate community, but its acquiescence. And in a context in which the crisis at CUNY posed a grave threat to the preservation of domestic tranquillity, such acquiescence was not hard to come by.

D. The Board of Higher Education: Institutional Survival and Social Justice

Formal power to approve, or to reject, Bowker's proposal to move to open admissions resided with the New York City Board of Higher Education. Composed of members appointed by the Mayor, the tradition-bound Board was, at the time Bowker took office, the unquestioned power center of policy-making for public higher education in New York City. Yet by 1966, with the help of liberal new members nominated by a "screening panel"¹⁸ of prominent citizens and selected by Mayor Lindsay in consultation with Bowker himself, the power of

In 1967 the nation was swept by wave after wave of riot and destruction in the streets of our cities. In 1968 the scene of action—of dissension and disruption—shifted from the streets of the cities to the campuses of the colleges and universities of our country.

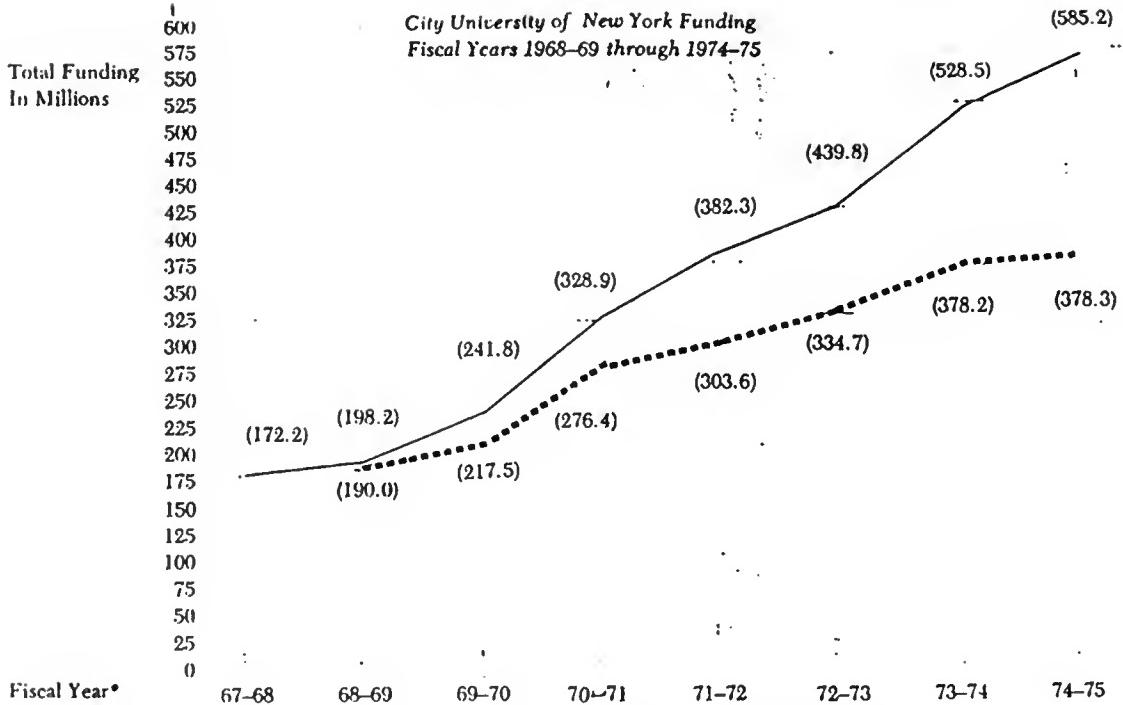
The City University endured much less than many other colleges in the nation, but we had our share. And we could see, if we chose to look, that unless we moved to break down or at least to diminish the discriminatory barriers of our selective admissions systems, we would be stoking up explosive forces which we might not be able to contain (Bowker, 1969).

Bowker was thus able to use the threat of racial violence to achieve a goal that had hitherto eluded him, the virtually immediate adoption of open admissions. From this perspective, the insurgent Black and Puerto Rican students at City College (though protesting for their own distinct reasons) may be considered Bowker's indispensable, albeit perhaps unwitting, allies in his long-standing struggle to massively expand the University.

The adoption of open admissions not only meant that the increasingly divisive battles over places in the freshman class would come to an end, it also meant that the University would be provided with resources on a scale previously unimaginable. Between 1968–1969, the third year in which open admissions was in effect, the University budget rocketed from 198.2 million dollars to 439.6 million dollars. (see Figure 1). If one of the marks of the successful stage manager is, as Block (1977) suggests, the expansion of resources under the control of his organization, then Bowker may be said to have been, in this sense at least, a state manager *par excellence*.

Conclusion: Open Admissions and the Politics of Structural Change in American Higher Education.

Any attempt to draw from a single case study theoretical implications of broader applicability is inherently a hazardous undertaking. In the case of open admissions this is particularly so, for the struggle at CUNY reached a level of intensity that is quite rare in American educational politics. Yet precisely because it occurred in a context of genuine crisis, certain aspects of the workings of political power in higher education that remain hidden in normal times became visible at CUNY. Thus, without making any claims about its "representativeness," it seems



*Fiscal Year begins July 1st in the years mentioned above and ends on June 30th of the following year.

- () Dotted line signifies constant dollars controlled for inflation.
- () Straight line signifies actual dollar amounts for period.

Source: City University Archives

clear that our understanding of the case of open admissions at the City University has at least the potential to shed new light on some of the debates that have raged in recent years among scholars concerned with the place of the educational system in the larger society. And because the adoption of open admissions was one of the most radical transformations ever to take place in American higher education, it holds particular promise for contributing to our understanding of the sources of educational change.

Perhaps in reaction to "revisionist" accounts (Katz, 1968, 1971; Karier et al., 1973; Spring, 1972) which portray educational history as a series of uncontested capitalist impositions on an inert working class, recent Marxist scholarship on education (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Wrigley, 1980, 1982; Gorelick, 1981) has stressed the centrality of class struggle as a source of educational change. The case of CUNY offers added evidence of the utility of this neo-Marxist model, and, in some ways, fits with it strikingly well. Indeed, class conflict over access was absolutely fundamental to the dynamic that produced open admissions. Interestingly, the black and white working class, after some initial divisions, ultimately worked together to fight for expanded access. Thus, while it was Blacks and Puerto Ricans who originally gave impetus to the movement to democratize the University, the City's predominantly white trade-union movement later joined with them to provide the political clout essential to the adoption of open admissions. Far, then, from being the passive mass depicted in earlier revisionist accounts, the New York City working class was an active, and at times militant, participant in the struggle to broaden access to the University.

Yet the "class struggle" model, though a considerable advance over previous "instrumentalist"¹⁴ formulations that present both the structure and the content of education as a direct capitalist imposition, is not without serious problems as applied to CUNY. For apart from the tendency to downplay the specifically racial and ethnic character of the conflict,¹⁵ the class struggle model is unable to explain a central feature of the events at CUNY: the tendency of the University administration to welcome, and in some ways even to stimulate, pressure from below. In order to unravel this enigma, a class struggle model—which typically depicts educational outcomes as reflecting, in more or less mirror-like fashion, the distribution of class power in civil society—will simply not suffice. Instead, what is needed is a framework that takes into account the fact that the university is an institution with its own distinct organi-

national interests—interests related, but not reducible, to those of competing groups in civil society. Within such a framework, university administrators would be looked upon as having affinities with Block's (1977, 1980) "state managers", above all in their inclination to try to maximize resources under their control and to most readily grant concessions to movements which demand reforms that have the effect of expanding their own power base.

If viewed through this combined class and organizational prism, what happened at the City University in 1969 becomes much more comprehensible. Long before the democratization of the University had become a clamorous demand, CUNY's chief administrator, Albert Hlosmer Bowker, had enunciated his strong support for the rapid and massive expansion of the institution over which he presided. In this context, the pressure from below for increased access that impinged on the University in the late 1960s was actually a resource for Bowker. For having previously failed to convince the relevant City and State authorities that the drastic expansion of the University was an absolute necessity, Bowker now had in the militant protests of Black and Puerto Rican students an invaluable weapon: either provide the University with the resources that it had long coveted or risk inciting a campus riot that threatened to engulf the entire City.

From the perspective of organizational sociology (March and Olsen, 1976), it may therefore be said that Bowker had a "solution", open admissions, that he had wanted to impose long before he had a "problem" that would justify its imposition. In the mounting pressure from the City's minority community for radically expanded access, and the implicit threat of racial violence that it carried with it, Bowker had just the "problem" that he needed. A focus on organizational interests, and on the preferences of those who preside over organizations, thus helps to solve one of the great riddles of the crisis at CUNY: that its outcome was the adoption of open admissions despite the fact that none of the contending parties had advocated it. And it also helps explain why, in the bitter struggle between those forces that wished to expand the University and those that wished to maintain its elite character, the CUNY administration often sided with the former.

A pure class struggle model cannot, in short, explain the adoption of open admissions. Indeed, a powerful case could be made that the "rapports de forces" between the contending groups at CUNY was so even as to be much more conducive to stalemate than to drastic change. What led to open admissions at the City University was not,

therefore, mass action alone, but rather the way in which demands from below meshed with the organizational interests of the very institution that was the object of those demands. Extrapolating from these events, one might hazard the following generalization: *the struggles of subordinate groups to change the educational system are most likely to succeed when the demands that they put forward coincide with the organizational interests of educational administrators.*

Like other "state managers", administrators of large universities in the state sector tend to have a relatively broad view of the social order—and of what it needs to reproduce itself. But unlike the state managers described by Block (1977; 1980), universities are typically little concerned about the maintenance of "business confidence". Instead, a more characteristic preoccupation is with the place of the educational system in the larger process of reproduction. Most closely tied to those parts of the "dual state" (see Wolfe, 1977; Poultzazas, 1978), whose primary task is legitimization rather than the accumulation of capital, university administrators often exhibit a special sensitivity to the role of education as a vehicle of social mobility. And especially when the system is in visible ideological crisis, they often serve as what might be called "specialists of legitimization". Such, in any case would seem to be a fair characterization of the role played at CUNY by Bowker in the late 1960s.

Under what conditions, however, will the state be willing to provide the educational system with the massive resources necessary to shore up a sagging legitimization process? If the case of CUNY, where the adoption of open admissions required a large-scale infusion of funds, offers any indication, it seems most likely to do so when three conditions obtain; the legitimization problem is severe, a large "surplus" is available for strategic expenditures to alleviate it, and there is reason to believe that educational reform is likely to have a substantial impact. At the City University in 1969, all these conditions were met. Belief in the dominant ideology of individual advancement via education was obviously weakening, especially among minority youth, the accumulation process was still apparently working smoothly enough to permit large outlays of funds for "social welfare", and the educational system was a strategic site of ideological struggle.

The conflict at City College, in particular, was at once a challenge to, and an expression of, the core American ideology of upward mobility through education. Thus, on the one hand, the insurgent students—and, behind them, the Black and Puerto Rican communities from

which they came—were vigorously contesting this ideology as a description of the realities of American life. On the other hand, the very act of demanding greater access to the University displayed a powerful, albeit flagging, faith in the promise of education as a means of individual advancement. Which of these forces would in the end prove more powerful, Bowker sensed, depended in substantial part on how the University responded to the crisis. In this context, the adoption of open admissions, offered the most disaffected segment of the population dramatic evidence that the system was an open one.

If the university is, however, to be an effective agency of legitimation, it needs, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) have pointed out, a certain degree of relative autonomy from the dominant class. In the case of open admissions, such autonomy was certainly present. Indeed, the relative absence of business participation is one of the most noteworthy features of the entire controversy.⁵¹ Even more striking, however, was the remarkable degree of latitude that the City University enjoyed in determining its response to the demands for democratization emanating from civil society. What the case of open admissions suggests is that the university may, under certain conditions, be relatively autonomous not only from the dominant class, but also from the very state that provides it with the fiscal resources necessary for survival. This suggests that the concept of relative autonomy, though usually used in reference to the relationship between the dominant class and the educational system, may also be fruitfully applied to discussions of the relationship between the educational system and other parts of the state itself.

Generally speaking, *the greater the relative autonomy of the university vis-a-vis the state and economy, the more important it is to understand its distinct organizational interests.* Yet even under conditions of relative autonomy, the university still operates within a context of constraint. At the City University, certain solutions—for example, the massive expansion of opportunities for Blacks and Puerto Ricans without a corresponding increase for whites—were effectively ruled out by the sheer intensity of group struggle.⁵² Thus, though one may (and indeed must) speak of the relative autonomy of the educational system, it is crucial to realize that this "autonomy," however great it may seem, always remains "relative." The specification of the nature of the constraints—economic, political, and ideological—is, accordingly, a priority task for those who work in this area.

In trying to situate the educational system in relation to the sur-

rounding society, perhaps the best formulation is one that sees it as consisting of institutions with their own distinct organizational interests, but with a capacity to pursue them that varies drastically according to the structure of external constraints.⁵¹ Within this framework, pressures arising from class struggle—or, under some circumstance, ethnic or racial struggle—constitute a particularly likely source of structural change in education. Yet the particular form that these changes will take may very well not register, the class struggle model notwithstanding, the pressure exerted by contending groups in barometer-like fashion. Instead, demands on the educational system emanating from civil society will be refracted through a prism of organizational interest. And a not uncommon result of this process will be a policy that, like open admissions, embodies the logic of organization as well as that of class.

Notes

1. This figure is even more remarkable when one considers that the disadvantaged are overrepresented among New York City high school graduates; thus, whereas only 43 percent of high school graduates nationwide came from families which in 1970 earned under \$10,000 a year, at least 60 percent of high school graduates in New York City came from such families (Trimbarger, 1973: 33).
 2. For admission into a transfer program at a community college in the early 1960's, students were required to have taken the same courses that had to be taken for entry into a senior college and to have obtained a 77.5 grade average. Requirements for entry into career programs were somewhat more flexible, but records for this period show that almost all matriculated students at community college—career as well as transfer students—had received academic diplomas in high school (Gordon, 1973: 91).
 3. In attempting to classify various ethnic groups according to their "college-going propensity," the Committee was uncertain whether Puerto Ricans should be placed with whites or non-whites (Holt, 1962: 93).
 4. The general tenor of Rosenberg's traditional and unimaginative chairmanship of the Board of Higher Education from 1957 to 1966 is well described in Gordon (1975). On Rosenberg's clash with—and ultimate defeat by—Bowker, see as well Wechsler (1977: 265-274).
 5. Gorelick (1981), in a study of City College (CUNY) during the 1880-1924 period, has unearthed some interesting new evidence concerning CCNY's famous role as a ladder of social mobility for immigrants. First, Gorelick argues, Jewish mobility, especially in the first generation, tended to bypass the credential system altogether and to occur via success in the world of small business. Second, she points out, at no time during the first decades of this century did more than a tiny fraction of Jewish immigrant youth ever gain entry to City College. And finally, Gorelick claims that Jewish students at CCNY, while hardly affluent, were in fact from the more privileged strata of Jewish working class.
 6. While no exact figures are available, all analysts agree that the number of Jews residing in New York City, long estimated at approximately 2,000,000 (Glazer and
- Moynihan, 1970), had declined significantly by 1960. By 1979, according to the American Jewish Year Book, only 1,228,000 Jews remained in New York City, with an additional 605,000 living in Nassau and Suffolk counties and 165,000 more residing in Westchester.
7. It should be noted that the non-white category in this table does not include Hispanics.
8. These two objectives, it is worth noting, were seen by Bowker (1963:8) as complementary, for it was precisely the children of the "never migrations" (i.e. Blacks and Puerto Ricans) who were expected to "rise" to fill the growing number of jobs requiring two, but not four, years of college.
9. This figure is based on estimates provided by Holt et al. (1962: 99).
10. In reality, the "grade-point average" used as a shorthand for admission to CUNY was a composite score consisting of high-school average and scores on the SAT (converted to a scale similar to high-school averages).
11. From the Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Higher Education of August 1, 1978.
12. For an interesting brief history of the use of quotas by elite colleges to restrict the number of Jewish students, see Steinberg (1971). See also Wechsler (1977) and Synott (1979).
13. Academic "merit" is not, of course, randomly distributed in New York City (or, for that matter, anywhere else). Among 1970 high school graduates, for example, 49.6 percent of white students, but only 16.1 percent of the Black students had GPAs over 80 (Birnbaum and Goldstein, 1971: 59). Since income is also highly correlated with grades in New York City and since Jews are among the more affluent of the white ethnic groups (see Glazer and Moynihan, 1970), it would seem fair to infer that the gap between white and minority-group grades was considerably greater than the gap between white and minority-group grades. Further evidence for this inference is provided by the very fact that Jews were much more likely than Catholics to be eligible for senior-college entrance in the period prior to open admissions (see Glazer, 1973).
14. For years, the City College had been a virtual preserve of the City's large Jewish population, indeed, from the early part of the century until the 1960's, Jewish students constituted between 80 and 95 percent of CCNY's graduates (Glazer, 1973: 76). By 1969, their numbers had doubtless diminished, but they were probably still a clear majority of the student body.
15. Predominantly upper-middle class, many of them employed by the City's large corporations or by the firms that serviced these large corporations, the reform Democrats would not have their interests directly encroached upon by the entrance of the poor into the political system (David, 1971: 50). This was not the case, however, with the middle- and lower-middle class bureaucrats whose agencies the reformist Lindsay wished to rationalize. Indeed, according to Martin Sieffler (1977: 106-107), Lindsay's alliance with the blacks was doubly useful because it "could be used to legitimize the cause if it 'provided the administration with control of the [Junim-dominated] bureaucracy' and hecause it 'provided the administration with shock troops with which to attack the bureaucracy from below.'
16. Gitell (1971: 149), who has written a full-length study of the conflict over community control, notes that "the decentralization alliance united the city's upper class, who had long despised of the school system and long been leaders in the school reform movements, with the city's underclass, who had, as clients, little faith in the schools." In cementing this alliance, the funds provided to community groups by upper-class dominated foundations played an especially critical role.
17. It would be a mistake, however, to infer from this that the City's Jewish population was united behind the teachers' union. For here, too, the Jewish community was split along class lines. Nathan Glazer's (1973: 89) trenchant characterization of the situa-

tion may not be fair off: "More prosperous Jews, for whom being a schoolteacher was not a big thing, and younger, more radical Jews supported the community control forces against the working-class and middle-class Jews and against the official Jewish organizations, which on the whole supported the teachers, the teachers' union, and due process. For corroborative evidence, see Harris and Swanson (1976: 143).

16. The importance of the theory of state managers as articulated by Block (1977: 198) resides in its insistence that policies which serve the long-term interests of the capitalist system derive less from direct ruling class control of the state apparatus than from the activities of state managers in pursuit of their own institutional interests. While the interests of capitalists and state managers are by no means identical, especially in the short run, state managers are ultimately dependent for fiscal resources on the successful workings of the accumulation process and are, accordingly, most unlikely to pursue policies which conflict with the underlying interests of the capitalist system. In the midst of class struggle, however, they do often make concessions to the working class which would almost certainly not be accepted by a capitalist class in direct control of the state. Such concessions often serve, as Block (1977) notes, not only to rationalize capitalism, but also to expand the size and importance of the public sector and to increase the power and resources controlled by state managers.

As applied to university administrators, the theory of state managers is quite illuminating, especially in its insistence that they pursue their own distinct organizational interests, but within a context of structural and ideological constraint. In understanding their particular activities, however, a point neglected by Block is crucial: that the state apparatus to which they belong is extremely heterogeneous, with its different components tied to different social groups and performing quite distinct tasks. Roughly speaking, one may, as Wolfe (1977) has argued, refer to the capitalist state as a "dual state," with some of its parts closely wedded to the accumulation process and others to the process of legitimization. As state managers, university administrators are, by virtue of their position, relatively insulated from matters of accumulation at the same time that they are integrally involved with issues of legitimization. As such, they are perhaps more likely than other state managers to advocate programs that tax the state's fiscal resources and may even threaten "business confidence," especially when such programs further their particular organizational interests.

19. Interview with Albert Bowker conducted on June 5, 1975.
 20. Fearful of offending the black community, Lindsay had first declined to comment upon the dual admissions scheme, saying that he needed "an opportunity to review it in detail" (*New York Times*, May 26, 1969). Sensing the outrage of the City's white population, however, on May 27 Lindsay stated in reference to the agreement reached between the CCNY administration and the demonstrating students: "Having examined it, I believe it is a quota system and I am opposed to it" (*New York Times*, May 25, 1969). Of all the candidates for the mayorality, only Norman Mailer favored it, stating that "we have to take a chance on it and learn" (*New York Times*, May 26, 1969).

21. From the *New York Times*, May 26, 1969.

22. It should be noted, however, that Rosen never names this source; caution is therefore called for in assigning weight to this particular statement.

23. Interview with Timothy Healy conducted on October 23, 1978.

24. From the Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Higher Education on May 4, 1969.

25. Interview with CUNY Vice-Chancellor for the Executive Office, J. Joseph Meng, conducted on September 1, 1978. The endorsements of open admissions by former Mayor Wagner and the faculty union are described in the *New York Times* of May 26, and May 30, 1969.

26. In view of the general tendency of university faculties to favor the maintenance of traditional academic standards and admissions criteria, the liberalism of the CUNY

faculty is particularly noteworthy. In February 1969—well before the South Campus seizure—the City University Faculty Senate actually criticized the Board for not carrying its reforms far enough. The problem with these reforms, said its report, "is not that they would admit large numbers of students with educational deficiencies, but rather that they largely ignore the necessity for concomitant changes in the colleges, to meet the needs of these students" (The University Senate, 1969: 9). Further evidence of the liberalism of the CUNY faculty is provided by the results of interviews conducted in 1971; at that time, a year after open admissions went into effect, 87 percent of the faculty members in CUNY senior colleges agreed with the statement that "open admissions is a good idea because it equalizes opportunities for higher education" (Rossmann, 1975: 126). One possible source of this unusual degree of support for extending educational opportunities to minorities may reside in the predominantly Jewish character of the CUNY faculty; according to a 1969 national survey (Ladd and Lipset, 1975: 160) Jews were the only religious group to report a majority agreeing with the statement, "more minority undergraduates should be admitted even if a 'relaxation' of regular academic standards is required" (53 percent among Jews vs. 40 percent among Catholics and 38 percent among Protestants). At the same time, however, it should be noted that support for open admissions was far from unanimous among City University faculty members and, in fact, some of the leading citywide spokesman for the opposition were professors at CUNY.

27. Interview with Board of Higher Education Vice-Chairman Francis Keppel conducted on December 11, 1978.

28. Interview with Harry Van Arsdale conducted on October 31, 1978.

29. From the Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Board of Higher Education on June 16, 1969.

30. This conclusion is based on interviews conducted with Albert Bowker, Julius Edelstein, Joseph Meng, and Timothy Healy.

31. On the opposition of the Jewish Defense League and the Queens Jewish Community Council to open admissions, see the Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Board of Higher Education of June 16, 1969. And for a more general treatment of class cleavages in the Jewish community during the 1969 election, see Himmelfarb (1970).

32. By a remarkable coincidence, the seizure of the South Campus at CCNY occurred on April 22—just three days prior to the beginning of the data gathering.

33. For an illuminating discussion of the role played by education in the strategies of class reproduction of various social groups, see Bourdieu et al. (1973).

34. Perhaps themselves susceptible to the myth of "Jewish intellectualism" (see Steinberg, 1974), leaders of those Jewish organizations most closely linked to the Jewish lower-middle and working class seem never to have considered the possibility that Jews, too, might benefit from open admissions. There is a certain irony in this, for enrollment figures during 1970, the first year of open admissions, demonstrated that there were far more low-achieving Jewish students than anyone had imagined. Indeed Jews were the second largest beneficiaries of open admissions (see table 6). False consciousness, it seems, knows the boundaries of neither class nor ethnicity.

35. According to Bellush (1971: 127), a similar split within the Jewish community between "grass-roots" and "city-wide" leaders occurred over housing policy. And, as was indicated earlier, class cleavages among Jews were also visible over the issues of the Civilian Review Board and community control.

36. It is crucial to remember in this regard that the feeling was widespread at the time that New York City was long "overdue" for a riot, and that only the reformist policies of the Lindsay administration—and at times only the personal intervention of the Mayor himself—had kept the ghettos calm at a time when seemingly less volatile communities in other cities had gone up in flames. For evidence that race riots did, in fact, have the effect of increasing state expenditures, see Button (1978) and Isaac and Kelly (1981).

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of educational change; see Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981), Barbetti (1982); Katznelson et al. (1982), and Tauck and Hansot (1982). Revealingly, perhaps, several of these studies bear the imprint of Weber's sociology of power as well as Marx's analysis of the dynamics of class struggle in capitalist society.

37. This was, in fact, a major theme of every CUNY Master Plan since Bowker took office.

38. The screening panel was headed by Alan Pifer, President of the Carnegie Corporation, a graduate of Groton and Harvard and a core member of the upper-class Protestant status groups that played such an important role in the reformist politics of New York City during this period. For discussions of the character and functions of the screening panel see Gordon (1975).

39. For a lucid account of the struggle between Chancellor Bowker and the Board chaired by Gustave Rosenberg, see Wechsler (1977: 269-274).

40. See Hodgeson (1976) for an incisive discussion of the nature of this alliance.

41. Porter Chandler, Chairman of the twenty-member Board, was a graduate of St. Marks and Harvard, and had attended Oxford University before attending Harvard Law School and going on to a career as a prominent Wall Street lawyer. Francis Keppel, was a graduate of Groton and Harvard, and a member of the Cosmopolitan and Century Clubs. Both are listed in the *Social Register*, the standard indicator of membership in the upper-class used by social scientists (see Baltzell, 1958).

42. Interview with Francis Keppel conducted on December 11, 1978.

43. Paley's efficacy as a liaison between the City University and the State Legislature was mentioned in interviews by Julius Edelstein, Francis Keppel, and Timothy Healy.

44. Interview with Henry Paley conducted on October 30, 1978.

45. Interview with Peter Goldmark conducted on December 29, 1978.

46. Interview with Julius Edelstein conducted on December 29, 1978.

47. Henry Paley, who had been lobbying in Albany for CUNY prior to the crisis over open admissions, expressed certainty that the University would have been unable to obtain the resources it ultimately succeeded in getting in the absence of the sense of acute urgency produced in 1969 by the events at City College and their aftermath. As he put it, "Nobody asks how much the fire engine is going to cost when the fire's in progress. Get the fire engine there, and put the goddamn thing out or it's going to spread!"

48. The distinction "class struggle" and "instrumentalist" models is borrowed from Skocpol (1980).

49. For an alternative neo-Weberian framework that reconsiders the material basis of ethnic and racial struggles but, in contrast to most Marxist formulations, does not reduce them to an underlying class base, see Collins (1979).

50. Such an error is structurally homologous to the error made by many analysts of the state—Marxist and pluralist alike—who see state policy as reflecting nothing more than the distribution of power among competing groups in civil society. For penetrating critiques of such views, which fail to see the state as having autonomous interests and as frequently acting as an "organization-in-itself," see Block (1977) and Skeopol (1979).

51. Under some circumstances, however, business can, as Alford and Friedland (1975) and Lindblom (1977) have noted, exert a tremendous influence on state or institutional policy without any direct intervention whatever. For an example of the "structural power" of business in higher education, see Brint and Kardell (1982) analysis of the vocationalization of the community college.

52. At other times, however, intense class struggle—especially when it produces a stalemate—may actually increase the autonomy of state managers in a sense. Marx's analysis of Louis Napoleon's apparent independence of civil society in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* is the most famous example of such a case. More typically, however, widespread political mobilization circumscribes the autonomy of state managers: indeed, a demobilized populace is to a state manager what a union-free workplace is to an employer.

53. For examples of recent scholarly works that, while attentive to class conflict, do not neglect the role of professional educators and organizational interests in the process

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Harriet Siegel Nathan

University of California at Berkeley alumna with two Journalism degrees: A.B. in 1941 and M. J. in 1965. Wrote for the on-campus paper, The Daily Californian ("Monarch of the College Dailies") as reporter, columnist, assistant women's editor, and managing editor. Prepared President Sproul's biennial report to the Legislature, 1942-44; wrote advertising copy; edited house journals; served on local and state boards of the League of Women Voters primarily in local and regional government and publications. As a graduate student, wrote for the University's Centennial Record. Worked as an interviewer/editor at the Regional Oral History Office part-time from the mid-sixties; concurrently served the Institute of Governmental Studies as Principal Editor doing editing, writing, research, production, and promotion of Institute publications. Wrote journal articles; and a book, Critical Choices in Interviews: Conduct, Use, and Research Role (1986) that included oral history interviews in the analysis. Also with Nancy Kreinberg co-authored the book, Teachers' Voices, Teachers' Wisdom: Seven Adventurous Teachers Think Aloud (1991), based on extended interviews with the teachers.

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